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THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
FRANCIS THE FIRST.

VOL. I.

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FRANCIS THE FIRST

King of France.

Mr. H. C. Bull
Sept 1864
THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

FRANCIS THE FIRST,

King of France.

BY JAMES BACON, ESQ.

SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1830.

P R E F A C E.



IN submitting to the public a history of the Life and Times of FRANCIS THE FIRST, the author feels that he encounters the danger of having his labours compared with those of other writers who have treated of the same period, with a view to the history of other sovereigns and other countries. In order to deprecate a criticism from which he shrinks,—because proceeding upon such grounds it cannot be other than extremely injurious to him,—he begs permission to state, that with a strong inclination to undertake the task, the most powerful among the many reasons which combined to deter him was the recollection, that the lives of Charles the Fifth and of Henry the Eighth, the contemporaries and the competitors of Francis the First, had already been written by authors, whose talents he re-

spects infinitely, but whose merits he cannot hope to emulate. The motive which induced him to persist in his labours, and which has been powerful enough to bring those labours to a termination, was an earnest desire to supply, as well as he might, that deficiency in English literature, which the want of a history of the king who governed France for the first half of the sixteenth century had occasioned. While the personal character of Francis the First seemed at least as well worthy of celebration as those of his contemporaries, the events which marked the history of France during his reign produced upon the times in which he flourished an effect not less important, nor were they in themselves less varied or interesting, than those which have been more minutely detailed in the annals of the Empire, of Spain, and of England. The attempt to place that character and those events in the distinct and independent position which they are entitled to hold, he now submits, with a full sense of its arduousness, and not without great apprehension, to the impartial judgment of the public.

Of the manner in which he may have succeeded in accomplishing his purpose, the author cannot form, and ought not to express an opinion. All that he pretends to is an earnest endeavour to have executed his task to the utmost of his ability, and to have endeavoured, by research and diligence, to supply from the contemporary and other histories, and from documents in the public libraries (some of which have either been overlooked or their importance underrated), the facts and information which relate to this subject.

While he lays claim to these, the only grounds on which he is entitled to any degree of merit, he feels that it is his duty,—and he discharges it with pleasure and gratitude,—to bear testimony to the valuable services which have been rendered to the history of England, and of Europe, by the judgment and industry of two living historians. To Mr. Ellis, and to Mr. Sharon Turner, he begs to return his thanks for the facilities which their several works have afforded him in the prosecution of his labours; and in justice to their excellence, and to his own feel-

ings, he gladly avails himself of this public opportunity of acknowledging that whatever may be the worth of his work, much of it is derived from the light which their well-directed and indefatigable exertions have cast upon that period of modern history to which these volumes relate.

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CHAP. I.

Introduction—The House of Angoulême—The Birth of Francis—His father's death—Accession of Louis XII.—Education of Francis—Marriage of Louis with Anne of Brittany—Countess d'Angoulême invited to the Court—The Italian campaign of Charles VIII.—Louis determines to attack the Milanese—Invasion and conquest of that state—Sforza attempts to regain it—Is betrayed by the Swiss, and sent a prisoner to France, where he dies—Louis joins Ferdinand of Spain in an attack upon Naples—Dissensions between them—Composed by a treaty, which the Spaniards break—Battles of Seminara and Cerignola—Defeat of D'Aubigny and the Duke de Nemours—Louis directs an army against Naples, which is stopped at Rome, in consequence of the Pope's death—Poisoning of Alexander VI.—Defeat of the French at Garigliano—Gallantry of Bayard, La Palice, and D'Ars—Borgia betrayed by the Great Captain—Sent into Spain as a prisoner—His death—Louis XII.'s illness—The Queen meditates retiring into Brittany—Is prevented by the Maréchal de Gié—The King recovers—The Maréchal is tried and disgraced—Treaty of Blois—The King again falls ill, and recovers—Death of Isabella of Spain—Marriage of Ferdinand with Germaine de Foix, and cession of Louis's claims on Naples—Assembly of the States General at Tours—The Princess Claude is affianced to Francis.

THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
FRANCIS THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

THERE is no period of modern history more brilliant or more interesting than that occupied by the events which took place in the sixteenth century. The perfection of the art of printing, and the diffusion of learning of which it was the instrument; the discovery of a new world, and the vigorous impulse which that discovery had given to human enterprise; an universal thirst for freedom, and a perception of the means by which it might be achieved, had laid the ground for a series of new and wonderful occurrences. Literature, science, the arts of peace and of war, had been slowly proceeding to that degree of maturity at which their influence was to become general, and having assumed the appointed phase, their combined light shed over Europe a flood of illumination which effected an important change in the aspect and interests

CHAP.
I.

of civilised society. Human genius, awakened from the slumber in which it had lain bound under the influence of ignorance and tyranny, was prepared to engage in the struggle that could not be avoided, with uncompromising courage and stedfast hope. It is at such periods that the minds of men, warming under the genial excitement of the times, display their noblest qualities; that the more exalted spirits of earth, catching the first beams of the coming light, reflect its brilliancy upon the lower world, and give token of the day which is about to dawn. France, from her position, as well as from many other favouring circumstances, was especially adapted for experiencing the effects of the improvement which had begun its course; and of all the monarchs by whom her sceptre had been swayed, none had ever been better suited to the times in which he lived, or more able to compete with the master-minds by which he was surrounded, than FRANCIS THE FIRST.

His character was closely identified with that of the nation he was destined to govern. In him were united all the noblest and the best, as well as some of the weakest and most blameable of the qualities which characterise the French people. Their habits, feelings, temperament, virtues and vices, were reflected in him; with much to censure, there was so much more to admire—and that too of a kind which they were most prone to admire—that his subjects paid

him the willing tribute of their admiration, and yielded him a prompt obedience even on points which involved the sacrifice of their most important interests. He was amiable, impetuous, ardent, and sensitive; valiant in battle, courteous and light-hearted in peace, and himself too much a lover of freedom to aim at restricting the liberty of his subjects. At once the life-breath of that chivalry which was brought in his reign to its highest polish and perfection, and the munificent fosterer of literature and the fine arts, he was the worthy precursor of two monarchs of whom France is justly proud, and displayed in his own person the frank courage and affability of Henri Quatre, with more of learning and refinement; while the elegance and splendour of his court equalled that of Louis Quatorze, without the ostentation which sometimes made the latter puerile.

CHAP.
I.

The events of his life were of the most stirring and chequered kind. The emulous rival of Leo X. in encouraging the spread of knowledge and the establishment of letters; the competitor of Charles V. in war; the spoilt child of fortune at Marignan, and the object of her heaviest spite at Pavia: in turn a conqueror and a captive, he experienced all that human existence has of bitter and of sweet. The vicissitudes he endured illustrate the very romance of history; and while the sufferings of so noble a spirit continue to excite the sympathy of posterity, the events of his later life teach the wholesome mo-

CHAP.
I.

ral lesson, that it is in the cultivation of the more elevated qualities of the mind, in establishing peace, and in contributing to the amelioration of mankind, that the only true and attainable happiness consists.

At the period of his birth, his chance of succession to the throne was extremely remote. Charles VIII. the reigning monarch, was then in the prime of life, and he had a son living. The Orleans line was indeed the next in degree, and the family of Angoulême was of that branch; but its heir could only succeed in the double event of failure of male issue of the king, and of the elder branch of the house of Orleans.

The circumstances of his family too were not, as it then seemed, the most favourable to his future advancement. He had been deprived in his early infancy of his father's protection; the care of his education had devolved upon his mother, an inexperienced widow of eighteen, and upon his uncle, then duke of Orleans, whose influence was so slender, that whatever might be his affection for his young kinsman, he seemed to have no immediate prospect of being able materially to help his fortunes. The patrimonial possessions of the house of Angoulême had suffered a material diminution by the effects of the desolating war which, during the preceding century, had vexed and impoverished the land. A succession of fortunate events, however, enabled Francis to triumph over these disadvant-

ages, and lifted him, almost as soon as he was capable of filling it, to one of the highest stations in the civilised world.

CHAP.
I.

He was the great-great-grandson of that Louis, duke of Orleans, whom John, duke of Burgundy, influenced no less by jealousy than by ambition, caused to be barbarously assassinated in the reign of Charles VI. (*a*)

(*a*) "The duke de Berri had effected a seeming reconciliation between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, which each of them had sworn upon the sacrament to observe. Within three days after this solemn act, the duke of Orleans being, as usual, at the queen's lodgings, where he spent his evenings, a person came in haste to inform him that the king desired to speak with him immediately on an affair of importance. The duke, mounted on his mule, preceded by two pages and followed only by two of his domestics, set out for the Hotel de St. Pol, where the king lodged, and on the way was attacked by a company of about twenty ruffians, commanded by one whom he had removed from a trifling office in the king's service. This man, with his poleaxe, cut off the duke's hand as it rested on the side of his mule. He cried out immediately, "I am the duke of Orleans!" "It is he," replied the assassin, "for whom we watch," and, with a second blow, cleft his skull. One of his servants, a Fleming, endeavoured to cover his master's body with his own, and was dispatched with him. The assassins then made their escape with such expedition and address, that none of them were then known. This execrable action was committed on the twenty-third, or, as some say, on the twenty-second of November. The author for some days was not suspected; but the provost of Paris being sent for by the council, to know what discoveries or what inquiries he had made, he demanded leave to search the houses of the princes themselves, which was granted him. The king of the Two Sicilies looking at this time upon the duke of Burgundy, saw him change countenance; and soon after he

CHAP.
I.

By Valentina of Milan, his consort, from whom were derived those claims to the Milanese which proved so fatal a cause of war to France, the murdered duke left three sons: Charles, duke of Orleans, Philip, count de Vertus, who died without any legitimate issue, and John, count of Angoulême, the grandfather of Francis I. Charles of Orleans soon after his father's death, and under the pretext of revenging his murder, engaged the assistance of the English army, and persuaded his brother of Angoulême to join him in the rash enterprise.

Charles being afterwards unable to pay the whole amount of the levies for which he had stipulated, his brother John surrendered himself to the English government as a security for that part of the debt which remained due from the duke of Orleans. The result of the battle of Agincourt, where the duke was taken prisoner, united the brothers in the same captivity, which lasted, as to the count d'Angoulême, for thirty, and as to the duke, for twenty-five years; and was at length terminated by the generous exertions of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, the son of their father's murderer, and who had himself a father's murder to avenge.

The count d'Angoulême, although he had by confessed to that prince, and to the duke de Berri, that it was by his order that the duke of Orleans was killed. The admiral assembled a company of one hundred and twenty knights, with whom he would have pursued him, but the council interposed, and obliged him to desist."—Mezeray. *Le Père Daniel*, t. vi.

these means recovered his liberty, found himself obliged, on his return to his native country, to sell his county of Perigord and to mortgage other parts of his patrimony for the purpose of repaying the debt he had incurred for his redemption. In the stern school of adversity he had learnt, however, lessons of prudence and forbearance, which influenced the whole of his future life. He kept aloof from the dangerous politics of the time, and withdrew himself to Angoulême, where he led a useful and honourable life, and died in the odour of sanctity, having even gained so great a reputation for piety that he is said to have performed some miracles. (a) But neither his piety nor his love of retirement were strong enough to induce him wholly to abstain from warfare. He bore arms in the expedition by which the English were driven out of Guienne in 1451 and 1452, and is said to have repaid himself some of his former losses by the success of that enterprise.

He was succeeded by his son Charles, who obtained from Louis XI. the government of Guienne; but was thwarted by that extraordinary compound of cunning and weakness in his attempt to gain the hand of Mary of Burgundy, then the richest heiress in Europe, and who had evinced some inclination for the young count d'Angoulême. (b) The crooked policy which

(a) Vie de Jean le Bon, Comte d'Angoulême, par Papyre Masson.

(b) Philippe de Comines, l. vi. c. 3.

CHAP. Louis loved, betrayed him into a fatal mistake.

I.

The fear of aggrandising one of his own subjects induced him to let the extensive dominions which had devolved upon Mary by her father's death, depart into the hands of Maximilian, the son of the archduke of Austria, and he thus raised up a dangerous rival where he might have secured an ally. The count d'Angoulême soon afterwards married Louise, daughter of Philip, duke of Savoy, who had been selected for him by the king, and with whom he retired to Angoulême, his patrimonial estate, determined to escape from the suspicions and intrigues of a monarch, whose enmity and friendship were often equally mischievous. Louise, although she did not possess any extraordinary beauty, was not without personal attractions. She readily concurred with her husband's desire to live in retirement; but the tenour of her subsequent life seemed to indicate that this was rather owing to that facility of compliance with the wish of the person whom she loved, which a young woman, under the influence of an early passion, was likely to feel, than from any natural inclination she possessed for habits of seclusion. Their union was destined to have only a short duration; but while it lasted, the mutual happiness of the count d'Angoulême and his young wife suffered no interruption. The unremitting attention which she paid him in his last moments, and the sincere affection with which she cherished his memory, are circumstances that ought

not to be forgotten in estimating her character, which the course of the ensuing history, over many of the events of which she exercised a very powerful influence, will display in a much less amiable light. Two children were the issue of this marriage; Francis, the subject of the present memoirs, and Margaret, successively duchess of Alençon and queen of Navarre, the well known authoress of tales which, if they are occasionally not less licentious than those of Boccacio, often approach them also in some more worthy points of resemblance. But her most honourable distinction is, that she was the fervent encourager of letters, and the fearless protectress, so far as her influence extended, of the persecuted advocates of that reformation in religion to which the world is mainly indebted for the universal diffusion of knowledge and the establishment of civil freedom.

Francis the first was born at Coignac on the 12th of September, 1494. His mother has chronicled the event with an expression of fondness and exultation (*a*) which she was justified in entertaining for such a son. In the year 1496, and before he had completed his second year, his father died, when the guardianship of his infancy devolved upon his cousin Louis, duke of Orleans, who undertook the task with that judg-

1494.
Birth of
Francis.

(*a*) “François, par la grace de Dieu, Roi de France, et mon César pacifique, print la première expérience de lumière mondaine à Cognac, environ 10 heures après midi, 1494, le douzième jour de Septembre.”—Journal de Louise de Savoie.

CHAP.
I.

1498.
Accession
of Louis
XII.

Education
of Francis.

ment and good feeling which distinguished almost all the actions of one of France's most virtuous monarchs. In April, 1498, the effects of intemperance and debauchery upon a constitution naturally weak, hurried Charles VIII. to a premature grave. As he died without leaving issue, the duke of Orleans ascended the throne by the name of Louis XII.; an event which effected an immediate change in the prospects of the young count d'Angoulême. The king, who had now the means of carrying his kind intentions into effect, treated Francis in all respects as his near relation, and as the prince of the blood next the throne. He committed the care of his education to a gentleman of Poitou, Artus de Gouffier Boisy; one who had so far outstepped the age in which he lived, and the rank in which he was born, as to cultivate learning and the politer arts of humanity. Gouffier Boisy, who had studied in the great school of the world those principles by which the world is governed, did not confine his pupil's education to the lore that is to be drawn from books alone. He carefully investigated the temper and character of the prince, and adapted to them his instructions. He found him to possess a powerful intellectual capacity with a fiery temperament; an excellent disposition, and very strong affections. Foreseeing the influence which such qualities were too likely to exercise over his pupil in after life, Boisy earnestly endeavoured to inculcate the important lesson

that the passions of men, when directed by their reason, are the sources of the most ennobling virtues, as well as the means of the greatest enjoyment ; but that if they are permitted to become the masters instead of the ministers of human conduct, they are the suicidal destroyers of happiness. (a)

Boisy laboured also to direct the active and ardent temper, the aptitude for learning, the thirst for knowledge, and the inexhaustible animal spirits which distinguished his pupil, to the pursuit of glory. He taught him to cherish the love of truth, the generosity, and the unquenchable valour, which are the prominent virtues of chivalry ; to cultivate that courtesy which is natural to a gentle and noble mind ; and to protect the arts, not only for the sake of the delights they are capable of affording but for the immortal fame they confer upon their patrons. The sequel proved the value of his precepts ; for it is to the protection and encouragement which Francis bestowed upon literature and the fine arts, much more than to his blood-stained triumphs, or to the extraordinary vicissitudes of

(a) It was to keep constantly before his pupil's eyes the necessity of letting this fire, at once so useful and so full of peril, sometimes blaze to its height, and of sometimes repressing and extinguishing it, that Boisy, following the custom of the times, invented, as a device for the future king, a salamander girt round with fire, and gave him for a motto, *Nutrisco et Extinguo* ; the meaning of which has been often, but, as it should appear with reference to Francis's character, unnecessarily disputed.

CHAP.
1.

his fortunes, that he is indebted for that high place he holds in modern history.

The person of Francis was, even in his boyhood, handsome and graceful. He distinguished himself at an early age in all the martial sports and athletic exercises which then formed a necessary part of every gentleman's education. His robust constitution, his majestic and well-formed figure, gave him considerable advantages, to which he added the acquirements of such great dexterity and address, that he was said to manage a battle-horse better than any man of his years, and to be excelled by none in the use of all the weapons of war. Several of the sons of the French nobles shared in this part of his education with him ; and he not only surpassed them all in his exercises, but, by his natural affability and gentleness of temper, he had the rare good fortune so effectually to secure their friendship and affection, that the companions of his early youth, such, for example, as Montmorenci, Brion, and Montchenu, were the leaders of his armies, the champions of his throne, and his staunch adherents in all the reverses of his more mature years.

Marriage
of Louis
with Anne
of Brit-
tany.

The second marriage of the king had, however, rendered the chance of Francis ever reaching the throne apparently more distant than before. Twenty years before his accession to the throne, Louis had married Jeanne of France, the daughter of Louis XI. Her father's threats, which the duke of Orleans had learnt by expe-

rience were not to be despised, had induced him to this step, repugnant as it was to his feelings ; and although the exemplary patience and amiability of temper which Jeanne had displayed during their ill-assorted union, had commanded the respect of her husband, she had failed to inspire him with any other feelings towards her. By the death of Charles VIII., Anne of Brittany, the object of Louis's first passion—for whom he had endured an imprisonment of seven years—whom he had seen bestowed in marriage on his rival, and that rival his king as well as his near relative—was again free to dispose of her hand. There were reasons of state, inferior, in his estimation, to the dictates of his passion, but still not, perhaps, without their influence, why the rich and important fief of which Anne was the heiress should not be separated from the crown of France. He resolved upon annulling his actual marriage, and, alleging that which was untrue (*a*) in support of the pretences upon which he might, with more plausible reason, have urged such a request, he solicited the Pope to grant him a divorce from his wife Jeanne, and a dispensation to contract a marriage with the queen dowager. He alleged that he had secretly protested at the time of his marriage

(*a*) “ Il avoit juré à la face de l'Eglise que le mariage n'avoit point été consommé, quoique cette princesse eut juré le contraire ; et les miracles qu'elle fit depuis, semblerent confirmer ce qu'elle avoit dit. Il avoit soutenu par écrit d'autres faits sur ce sujet qui n'étoient pas plus vraisemblable.”—Varillas, t. i. p. 6.

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against the duress under which he was compelled to solemnize it ; that Jeanne was deformed, and of so feeble a constitution that it was impossible that she could produce an heir to the throne. Upon every principle of moral justice, it is clearly impossible to excuse such a proceeding, even if all the circumstances upon which it was grounded had been as true as some of them were notoriously false ; and yet such was the public feeling of that day, that it seems to have excited little disgust ; nor is it mentioned by the historians of the times as any blemish upon the character of the king. With the exception of some of the inhabitants of Paris, who entertained a respect for the memory of Louis XI., (to them a benefactor, although a scourge to the rest of his people,) and who did not hesitate to express their disapprobation of the unworthy treatment to which his daughter was exposed, (*a*) no one seems to have censured it. Jeanne herself offered no effectual opposition (*b*) to the proceeding ; but her love of truth would not permit her to let the king's depositions respecting their marriage pass uncontradicted. Having discharged this duty to her conscience, she withdrew to Bourges, where she assumed the monastic habit, and sought to forget in practices of devotion the afflictions by which her progress in the world had been constantly marked.

Neither the injustice, nor the indecency of Louis's request would however have deterred the

(*a*) Mezeray.

(*b*) Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 2.

Pope to whom it was made from granting it, Alexander VI., one of the most monstrous criminals that ever occupied the see of Rome, directed a commission to three cardinals whose opinions in the king's favour had been previously ascertained, and transmitted it to France by his detestable son, Cæsar Borgia, as his legate. (a) Borgia had long determined to quit his ecclesiastical function for the purpose of following without restraint the sanguinary projects he had formed against the liberties and lives of his neighbours, and this occasion appeared a favourable one for putting his project into practice. It was agreed between the king and the Pope, that the compliance of the latter should not be without its purchase. Borgia was to be created duke of Valentinois, in Dauphiny; to receive in marriage the hand of Charlotta, the daughter of Alain d'Albret, and sister to Jean, king of Navarre, who had been educated in the French court; to be paid a pension of 20,000 livres, and to take the command of 100 lances, with which troop, in his new character of soldier, he was to enter the French service.

Louis's marriage with the widow of Charles VIII., and the prospect which was thus afforded him, that a son of his own might succeed to his throne, in no degree diminished his affection for the young Francis. He had invited Louise of Savoy to the court, had received her with all

Countess
d'Angou-
lême in-
vited to the
Court.

(a) Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 16. Mémoires de Brantome, disc. 48.

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the attention which as a princess of the blood she could have expected, and had endeavoured by every possible means to promote a friendship between his queen and his kinswoman. His efforts proved unavailing ; a dissimilarity of temper, or some inexplicable cause, inspired those ladies with a mutual dislike, which by degrees increased until they threw off even the appearance of cordiality, and cabals were formed on either side, which added in no small degree to the disquiet that Louis was destined to experience.

In effecting the accommodation with Alexander VI. Louis was not solely actuated by his wish to obtain the divorce from his former marriage. He had designs upon Italy, in the prosecution of which the Pope's co-operation might be very serviceable ; and as those designs gave rise to a series of wars, which occupied a great part of the period embraced by the present history, and deeply influenced many of the events of Francis's life, it is necessary that their origin and progress, even before he became an active sharer in them, should be shortly explained.

The Italian
campaign
of Charles
VIII.

Charles VIII. had been induced at the persuasion of Ludovico Sforza, to attempt the conquest of Naples, the legitimate title to which was a question of considerable doubt. He crossed the Alps, descended into Italy with a small and ill appointed army, which was nevertheless strong enough to impress the dastardly and divided people with terror, and made himself master by a

series of bloodless victories, of a country which could hardly be said to be defended. (a) He gained possession of Naples, the terrified monarch of which had fled at his approach. In the intoxication of success he forgot to guard against the treachery by which he was surrounded, while the indiscreet conduct of his followers made the presence of the French so hateful to the Neapolitans, that, slaves as they were, they wished to exchange these for any other masters. A league was formed by the Pope, the Venetians, the Emperor, and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, to which Sforza, the promoter of the invasion, acceded; and Charles suddenly found himself surrounded by enemies, and out of the reach of succour. With a promptness and prudence which, if it had been earlier displayed, would have ensured him the lasting possession of all he had acquired, he evacuated Naples. At For-

(a) “Les Italiens étaient étonnés de voir cette grosse artillerie traînée par des chevaux, eux qui ne connaissaient que de petites coulevrines de cuivre traînées par des bœufs. La gendarmerie Italienne était composée de spadassins, qui se louaient fort cher pour un temps limité à ces *condottieri*, lesquels se louaient encore plus cher aux princes qui achetaient leur dangereux service. Chacun d’eux craignait de perdre ses hommes : ils poussaient leurs ennemis dans les batailles, et ne les frappaient pas. Ceux qui perdaient le champ étaient les vaincus. Il y avait beaucoup plus de sang répandu dans les vengeances particulières, dans les émeutes des villes, dans les conspirations, que dans les combats. Machiavel rapporte que dans la bataille d’Anguiari, il n’y eut de mort qu’un cavalier étouffé dans la presse.”—Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, &c. t. iii. p. 220.

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nova, on the Taro, he found the allied army amounting to 30,000 men arrayed against him, while his own troops, harassed with their march through a hostile country, made up a scanty 8,000. Charles, who saw that if he could not force his way through this army, his death or captivity were certain, gave orders to engage. A battle, infinitely more sanguinary than any the Italians had beheld, took place. (a) The French lost 200 men, and of the Italians nearly 4,000 were left on the field. Charles lost some of his baggage, but gained the honour and advantage of bringing his army safely into the Milanese. He returned thence to Paris, having left one half of his troops to succour Louis, then duke of Orleans, who was suffering all the horrors of famine in Novara, which was besieged, (b) and which he was subsequently compelled to evacuate. Naples and its dependencies were soon recovered by the arms of Gonsalvo di Cordova, the Great Captain, and of the brilliant and brief exploits of Charles VIII. in Italy nothing remained but the remembrance.

Louis determines to attack the Milanese.

It was this painful remembrance, and a desire to chastise the perfidy and insolence of Ludovico Sforza, who had betrayed Charles, and had oc-

(a) “E fu piu maravigliosa a gl’Italiana tanta uccissione, perche la battaglia non durò piu d’un’hora, e perché combattendosi da ogni parte con la fortezza propria, e con l’arme, s’adoperarono poco l’artiglierie.”—Guicciardini, lib.ii.p.108.

(b) Brantome calls it, “Le souffreteux siege de Navarra, où il (Louis) mangea jusques aux chats et aux rats.”—Mém. de Brantome, t. vi. p. 64.

casioned Louis's disgrace at Navarra, that determined him to attempt the conquest of the Milanese; and a feasible pretext was not wanting to give a colour of justice to his design.

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Valentina, the wife of that Louis, duke of Orleans, who had been murdered by the procurement of John of Burgundy, was the daughter of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan. In her marriage contract it had been stipulated that on the failure of male issue of her father, the duchy of Milan should devolve upon her and her posterity. The death of Giovanni Galeazzo, childless save Valentina, fulfilled the event which had been contemplated.

Charles of Orleans, her son, and the father of Louis, whose claim in right of his mother was irresistible, made an attempt to establish that claim, but succeeded only in obtaining the county of Asti. The Milanese were virtuous enough to love their freedom, and strong enough to maintain it. By one of those accidents which prove that fortune is not always blind, they were however destined to receive a governor, who, if his issue had been as worthy as he, would have protected them against all the disasters they were fated to endure.

A peasant, who is called by the cotemporary writers indiscriminately Attendulo, or Giacomuzzo, was ploughing in a field of Cotignola when some troops passed by. The spirit within him prompted him to leave the servile pursuit in which he was engaged, for one which, if not

CHAP. less laborious, would be more distinguished.
 I. Yielding to a common superstition, he threw up his ploughshare into a tree, with the resolution, if it should fall again to the earth, to continue his toils; if not, to seek his fortunes as a soldier. The share remained among the branches, and Attendulo renounced his peaceful avocations. His valour and his prodigious strength soon gave him some consideration among the soldiers whom he joined, and procured him the name of Sforza, which he made one of the most illustrious of his time. (a) His genius for war developed itself; he rose rapidly to command; seven thousand volunteers marched under his banners, whose services he sold to such of the intriguing and quarrelsome potentates of Italy as loved war, but loved better to carry it on with the arms of others than with their own. Wealth and distinction flowed upon him in a full current. An accidental fall from his horse, while he was yet in full vigour, terminated his life. He left legitimate sons who inherited none of his talents, and one natural son, Francesco Sforza, whose skill was equal, whose good fortune was superior to his own, and who, from being the pro-

(a) The kynred of the Sforces came of no noble blood; but one of the attendants of Cotignola, who at the first was under the duke of Milan, in his army as a *lixa*; that is, a waterbearer, or, as the Frenchmen call him, *calo*, a wood-bearer. Afterwards, for his strength and tallness, he had wages, and was made a soldier, and afterwards one of the captains; he was a valiant man, and for his great virtue and efforts he was called Sfortia.—MSS. Cotton. Nero. B. vi.

tector of Milan against the invasions of the neighbouring powers, became its master. The emperor, who pretended that the whole territory was a fief of the empire, and had reverted, offered to confer on him the investiture on payment of a certain sum. Sforza despised his offer, and expressed his determination of keeping with his sword that which his sword had won. With him the good fortune of his family ended. His son, Galeazzo Maria, was assassinated in the cathedral of Milan, during a solemn procession, at which he assisted in his ducal robes, partly from motives of personal resentment, and partly from the hatred which his tyranny had excited. (a) That the latter were not without their weight, may be concluded from the demeanour of one of the murderers, a youth of twenty-three years of age, who, Macchiavelli says, (b) met his death with unblenching firmness. Standing on the scaffold, prepared for his fate, the executioner before him with his axe in hand, he said, in Latin, (perché litterato era) “Mors acerba, fama perpetua, stabit vetus memoria facti.” Odious as the crime of assassination is under any circumstances, the lust and cruelty of Galeazzo had provoked the fate which befell him, (c) and

(a) Roscoe, *Lor. de' Medici*, vol. i. p. 171.

(b) *Istoria Fiorent.*, l. vii.

(c) “Era Galeazzo libidinoso e crudele; delle qual due cose gli spessi essempli, l'havevano fatto odiosissimo; perchè non solo non gli bastava corrompere le donne nobili, che prendeva ancora piacere di pubblicarle; nè era contento fare

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which was at this time too common in Italy to excite surprise. (*a*)

He was succeeded by his son Giovan Galeazzo, a child only eight years old, whose infancy gave an opportunity to Ludovico, his uncle, surnamed *Il Moro*, (*b*) to effect his ambitious scheme of securing to himself the dukedom. He harassed the widowed duchess, first by intrigues, and then by violence, and having succeeded in getting possession of the young duke's person, is believed to have poisoned him. He had given his niece in marriage to the emperor Maximilian, and had procured from him in return the investiture of this duchy as one of the empire's fiefs; and having thus bolstered up his claim, and morire gli huomini, se con qualche modo crudele non gli ammazzava."—Mac. l. vii.

(*a*) Voltaire, in speaking of this event, says, (vol. iii. p. 210.) "Je rapporte cette circonstance, qui ailleurs serait frivole, et qui est ici très-importante, car les assassins priaient Saint Etienne et Saint Ambroise à haute voix de leur donner assez de courage pour assassiner leur souverain. L'empoisonnement, l'assassinat, joints à la superstition, caractérisaient alors les peuples de l'Italie. Ils savaient se venger, et ne savaient guère se battre. On trouvait beaucoup d'empoisonneurs et peu de soldats. Et tel était le destin de ce beau pays depuis le temps des Othon. De l'esprit, de la superstition, de l'athéisme, des mascarades, des vers, des trahisons, des dévotions, des poisons, des assassinats, quelques grands hommes, un nombre infini de scélérats habiles, et cependant malheureux, voila ce que fut Italie."

(*b*) He had obtained this name, not as has been sometimes imagined, from his complexion, which was rather fair than swarthy, but from his device of a mulberry tree, (*moro*) which he had adopted as the symbol of prudence.—Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, t. xvi. p. 238.

secured, as he believed, the alliance of a powerful defender, he thought himself secure in the ill-gotten possession of Milan.

Louis XII. had taken other precautions besides his alliance with the Pope to ensure the success of his enterprise. He had entered into a league with the Venetians, who, without the shadow of a pretext, had bargained that they should have possession of the territories beyond the Adda when they should be won. He had repulsed an attack made by the Emperor Maximilian on Burgundy, and had compelled that monarch, who loved money better than war, to forbearance. He composed amicably some differences which had existed between himself and the Archduke Philip, the son of the emperor, and the father of Charles V. He confirmed the treaties which his father had entered into with Henry VII. of England, and made a new league offensive and defensive with the Swiss cantons. (a) Having thus secured his designs from interruption, he crossed the Alps with a small army, commanded by Louis de Luxembourg, count de Ligny; by Robert Stuart, seigneur d'Aubigny, who had distinguished himself greatly in the last expedition to Naples, and in the retreat; and by Giovan Giacomo Trivulzio, who, to great skill and experience in warfare, added the bitterest animosity against Sforza, by whom he had been driven from Milan, his native place. Ludovico sent his treasures and his children to Germany,

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Invasion
and con-
quest of the
Milanese.

(a) Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 20.

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and upon the approach of this force, he retired thither also himself, having first garrisoned and victualled the fortress of Milan, which was believed to be impregnable, and the defence of which he committed to Bernardino Curtio. In less than twenty days the whole of the Milanese was taken, and the fortress surrendered by the treachery of Curtio, who is said to have fallen a victim to the effects of his tardy repentance. (*a*) Genoa, divided by its own factions, followed the example of Milan; and the Venetians took for their share the state of Cremona, and the district of Ghiara d'Adda.

Louis entered Milan triumphantly, and clad in the ducal robes, and remained there about three months. He reduced the public imposts, granted possessions and privileges to the nobles, received deputations from other Italian states, with all of whom he made terms; and after nominating Trivulzio governor of Milan, he left that city and returned to Lyons, having first, in performance of his contract with the Pope, lent to Cæsar Borgia a part of his troops, for the purpose of carrying into effect those designs against the Roman barons, and the independent states which his own and his father's ambitious policy had planned. (*b*)

(*a*) Mezeray. *Le P. Daniel*, t. vii. p. 27.

(*b*) By open violence and by secret intrigue, by courage and by crime, by the boldest enterprises and by the most refined cunning; in short, by means which would have sufficed for the conquest of empires; Borgia made himself master of Forli, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, Piombino, Urbino, and

Ludovico Sforza, who had watched with an anxious eye for an opportunity of returning to Milan, fancied he had found it in the discontent to which Trivulzio's government had given rise. (*a*) He had endeavoured to engage the assistance of Maximilian, and failing in that, he had procured from the Swiss, whose swords were always to be hired, a hasty levy of 8,000 men. With this force he made his appearance in the country where his former tyranny had been forgotten in the more oppressive domination of the French. The cities of the Milanese welcomed him, and a few days convinced Louis that his recent conquest was very insecure. La Tremouille was sent to repair the faults which Trivulzio had committed. The armies met at Navarra, of which the citadel was in the hands of the French, while the town was in the possession

other states. He destroyed the most powerful of his enemies, either in open conflict or by the more fatal offer of his friendship. Treachery, so black, that to think of it makes the heart of man sicken; crimes, so repugnant to human nature, that, but for the positive evidence of history, it were impossible to believe them; marked the progress of this scourge to the land in which he was born, and made him the fitting instrument of the designs of Alexander VI.—Guicciardini, l. iv.

(*a*) The appointment of Trivulzio, who had many old injuries to avenge, was extremely injudicious; and had the effect of keeping Milan in a state of constant disorder. Besides the severity with which Trivulzio treated all such of the people as were of the Ghibeline party, (he himself belonging to the opposite faction of the Guelfs,) he had excited general disgust, by having slain, with his own hand, several of the rioters in a popular tumult.—Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 32.

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of Ludovico and his Swiss levies. The French general, who had learnt by experience the manner in which the Swiss were best to be dealt with, and who knew it was better to bribe than to fight with them, proposed terms which they immediately accepted; and at the very moment when Ludovico was preparing himself to encounter the hazard upon which he had set his life and fortunes, he was informed that his Swiss troops would not fight against their countrymen, who were enrolled under the French banners. Remonstrance was useless; they had begun their march, and all that he could obtain from them, was permission to follow in their ranks in the disguise of a common soldier. He who had so often betrayed others, was now in his turn to become the victim of treachery. As he marched on to Navarra, in the Swiss ranks, some significant gestures of the soldiers discovered him to his enemies. He was seized and transported, first to Pierre en Scise, and afterwards to the castle of Loches, where he remained a prisoner until his death, which happened ten years afterwards. The revolt of the Milanese was punished, but without any extraordinary cruelty, and tranquillity seemed to be restored to this part of Italy.

Is betrayed
by the
Swiss.

Louis joins
Ferdinand
in an at-
tack upon
Naples.

Louis was not however disposed to stop here, and the object for which he had begun the war being accomplished, he turned his thoughts to the acquisition of Naples, or, if that should fail, at least to the preventing its being annexed to the crown of Spain. Ferdinand, the Catholic,

and who, as Voltaire says, might be more truly called the Perfidious, proposed to him that they should join their forces for the purpose of invading Naples, and divide the prize between them. Louis listened to this proposition, and accordingly a French and Spanish army, the one commanded by Louis d'Armagnac, duke de Nemours, and by d'Aubigny, and the other by the Great Captain, attacked that unfortunate kingdom. Frederick, its monarch, withdrew from it almost without an attempt to repel the invasion, and threw himself upon the compassion of Louis, resigning to him that part of his dominion which the French king had already, by his treaty with Ferdinand, appropriated to himself. Louis, in return, gave him the county of Maine, and assigned him an annual pension of 30,000 crowns, which was punctually paid to him even after the French were driven out of Italy. By virtue of their treaty Louis was to have Naples and the Abruzzi, and Ferdinand, Apulia and Calabria; but in the ensuing year a dispute having arisen respecting the Capitanate, which the French insisted was a part of the Abruzzi, and the Spaniards would have considered as a part of Apulia, and which was a desirable object on account of the toll paid for cattle which were brought to graze upon that district during the winter, the Spaniards made use of it to commence a war. (a) By means of the archduke Philip a treaty for the purpose of composing

(a) Mezeray, p. 537.

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this quarrel, was soon afterwards entered into, by which it was contracted that the king's eldest daughter, Claude, should become bride of Charles of Luxembourg, afterwards Charles V., and that Ferdinand should resign Calabria and Apulia, and Louis, the kingdom of Naples, in favour of the affianced parties. (a) Louis sent word to his generals to desist from all further hostilities, which they immediately obeyed, but Gonsalvo, either acting on his own authority, or, as was rather believed, upon secret instructions from Ferdinand, attacked the French leaders as soon as they were effectually put off their guard. D'Aubigny was defeated by Antonio da Leyva at Seminara, on Friday, the 1st of April, 1503, and escaped with difficulty to the rock of Angitola, where however he was afterwards made prisoner. (b) On the following Friday Gonsalvo came to an engagement with the gallant duke de Nemours, who in his eagerness to punish the Spanish general's flagrant perfidy, forgot the dictates of prudence, and attacked him in a post so advantageous to the latter, that he lost but nine of his men, while the duke's army was wholly defeated. (c) In this battle,

1503.
Battles of
Seminara
and Cerig-
uola.

(a) Mezeray. Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 56.

(b) Guicciardini, l. v.

(c) Guicciardini, in relating this battle, gives an instance of that readiness and self-possession for which Gonsalvo was so eminently distinguished, and which gave him so great an influence over his army. Either by accident or by design, the ammunition of the Spaniards took fire, Gonsalvo welcomed the omen and turned it to his own advantage by

which took place at Cerignola, in Apulia, the duke de Nemours, who was a descendant of Charibert, son of Clotaire XI. (a) and the last of the family of Armagnac, fell, and with him 4,000 Frenchmen. These two disastrous days are supposed to have given rise to the notion which the common people of France entertain that Friday is a day of evil influence; while the Spaniards, with no less superstition, are accustomed to consider it as a fortunate one. (b) Gonsalvo marched, immediately after these victories, to Naples; the French troops shut themselves up in the fortresses, which were, however, taken by mine, and fell, together with Capua and Aversa, into the hands of the Spanish general.

Louis, not less indignant at the treachery which had been practised against him, than mortified at the defeat which his arms had sustained, prepared to avenge himself. He raised three armies; the first and the largest of which was commanded by La Tremoille, and was destined to the recovery of Naples; the second, at the head of which were placed Jean d'Albret and the maréchal de Gie, received orders to make an irruption into Fontarabia; and the third, under the direction of the maréchal de Rieux, was to cause a diversion by invading Roussillon. In addition to these, a powerful fleet was equipping, "The day is our's! heaven promises us the victory, and the token of it is, that we shall have no need of our artillery."—Lib. v. p. 303.

Louis directs an army against Naples.

(a) Henault, *Abrégé Chron.*, t. i. p. 344.

(b) Guicciardini, l. v. p. 303.

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ped and sent to sea for the purpose of doing as much mischief as might be to the Spanish coast on the Mediterranean, and to assist the operations of the army in Naples by cutting off supplies from Spain. (a) This plan, which was wisely laid, was destined to fail of its execution. The fleet returned to the port of Marseilles, having performed nothing more useful than a cruize upon the Spanish coast ; the Fontarabian army was disbanded, owing to the dissensions of its leaders ; and the expedition into Roussillon was consequently useless. The progress of the army directed against Naples was retarded by various causes. It was not, at first, easy to gain the permission of the Pope and his son that they should pass through his territories ; and to attempt the passage without that permission would have been too hazardous. This being gained, la Tremoille fell sick, and his command was assumed by Carlo Gonzagua, marquis of Mantua, who neither possessed the confidence of the king nor of his troops ; and when, at last, the army had nearly reached Rome, the death of Alexander VI. caused them to be detained there to favour the intrigues of the cardinal d'Amboise, who aspired to the tiara. This unlucky combination of events produced the failure of a design which, in the outset, had every reasonable prospect of success.

1503.
Death of
Alexander
VI.

The cause of the death of Alexander VI. has been related in two ways utterly at variance with

(a) Mezeray, p. 540. Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 80.

each other. The one account is, that the Pope was attacked by a fever on the 12th of August, that on the 16th he was bled, and the disorder seemed to become tertian; on the 17th he took medicine; but on the 18th he became so ill that his life was despaired of. He then received the viaticum during mass, which was celebrated in his chamber, and at which five cardinals assisted. In the evening extreme unction was administered to him, and soon afterwards he died. (*a*) The other, and the account which is more commonly believed, is that which is given by Guicciardini, (*b*) who says, that “the Pope having gone to sup in a garden near the Vatican, to enjoy the coolness of the evening air, (it being then the middle of August,) was brought home to the pontifical palace dead, and his son immediately afterwards, seemingly in the like condition. On the following day, the 18th of August, the Pope’s corpse was, according to the established usage, borne into the Church of St. Peter, when his face appeared black, swollen, and hideously convulsed; manifest signs of poison, by which means it was generally believed that his fate had been brought about, and the common story ran that it happened in this manner: That Il Valentino, (Cæsar Borgia) who was of the party at supper, had determined

(*a*) Burchard, Diar. ap. Notices de la Bibliothèque du Roi, vol. i. p. 118, quoted by Mr. Roscoe, Leo X., vol. i. p. 549.

(*b*) Guicciardini, l. vi. p. 314.

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to poison Adriano, cardinal di Corneto, in whose garden they were entertained; and it was a fact, perfectly notorious, that it had been his own and his father's frequent practice, not only to resort to that expedient for the purpose of at once avenging themselves on their enemies, and avoiding suspicion, but also, out of their detestable desire to appropriate to themselves the possessions of wealthy persons, as well cardinals as others about the court, and without considering whether they had received any offence from them, (as in the case of the very rich cardinal St. Angelo,) but even if they were on the most intimate and friendly terms; and although some of their victims, as the cardinals of Capua and Modena, had been their most serviceable and devoted ministers. He (Cæsar) having procured certain flasks of wine in which poison had been infused, committed them to the care of a servant who knew nothing of the scheme, with orders not to part with them to any one. By chance, the Pope was the first who arrived at the garden in which they were to sup, and being thirsty and exhausted by the heat of the weather, and knowing nothing of the contents of the flasks, asked for some wine. The provision for the supper had not yet been brought from the palace, and the servant to whose care the poisoned bottles had been entrusted, thinking that the wine which Il Valentino had given him was of a rare quality, poured out a goblet of it. The Pope drank, and Valentino,

who arrived at this moment, took some of it also." CHAP.
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In favour of each of these statements there is a certain body of evidence, and each of them is supported by arguments of such weight, as well as ingenuity, as to leave the matter one of those doubtful points of history on which it is easier to form an opinion than to vindicate its accuracy. (*a*)

Borgia's illness at the time of his father's death prevented his becoming an actor in the busy scenes that ensued. A dissension arose in Rome between the houses of the Ursini, who would have wreaked their old vengeance on him in his defenceless state, and of the Colonna, whose fidelity to him, as it then seemed, was not to be shaken either by his crimes or by the des-

(*a*) Mr. Roscoe, whose profound research entitles his opinions on all matters connected with Italian history to great attention and respect, inclines to think that Alexander's death was occasioned by a fever, under which Cæsar Borgia also laboured; or that if he really died by poison, it was administered by some of the numerous enemies whom his violence and rapacity had incited to revenge. Burchard and the diligent Muratori are powerful adherents on this side of the question. Voltaire, whose acuteness can never be doubted, although his accuracy may often be impeached, adopts the same opinion, and maintains it with great ingenuity. On the other side, the relations of Paulus Jovius, of Bembo, of Guicciardini, and other historians who lived so near the period at which this event took place, that it is surprising they could have mistaken, and difficult to believe that they would have misstated, a matter, the truth or falsehood of which must have been then notorious, are extremely circumstantial.

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perate plight into which his fortunes had fallen. The cardinal d'Amboise took advantage of the terror this tumult had occasioned among the cardinals, to offer them the protection of the French troops, which were at hand, on condition that they would elect him Pope; and he might have succeeded in his design but for Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of San Pietro in Vincula, who persuaded him to give up that which constituted his real strength, and to send away the French soldiery. Francesco Piccolomini, cardinal of Sienna, was then elected Pope, under the appellation of Pius III.; but, dying at the end of four weeks, left the see again vacant, when the intrigues of the cardinal San Pietro were crowned with success, and, as Julius II., he assumed the pontificate, while the cardinal d'Amboise had the disgrace and mortification of seeing his own hopes of the tiara defeated, and of having frustrated his king's design upon Naples.

Julius II.
elected
Pope.

Defeat of
the French
at Garig-
liano.

The fate of the army destined to accomplish this enterprise was most disastrous. The French troops marched on to the Garigliano, which the rainy season had so swollen that it was impassable. The marquis of Mantua threw a bridge over the river, and transported his cannon, in the very teeth of Gonsalvo, who did not venture to oppose him; and at first all seemed to go favourably with his forces. Dissensions, however, broke out in the French camp; the captains quarrelled with each other, and paid little obedience to their general, either because, as Guic-

ciardini says, such was the common practice of the French soldiers towards Italian commanders, or because they doubted his loyalty. He was accused of omitting to attack the Spaniards when a favourable opportunity had presented itself, and even of holding some communication with the enemy's general. The marquis of Mantua withdrew under the pretence of sickness, and the command then devolved upon the marquis di Saluzzo; but these quarrels had wasted the time which should have been spent in action. Gonsalvo remained in his camp close at hand, and compelled the French army to winter in a very uncomfortable and unwholesome district; (a) while the malpractices of the commissaries, "to whom," says Mezeray, "the ruin of armies is profitable," completed the disasters of their situation. (b) At length, the arrival of

(a) Guicciardini, lib. vi. p. 328. Mezeray, p. 541.

(b) At a later period, the malpractices of the commissioners were exposed to Louis XII. by Louis d'Hedouville, one of the survivors of this campaign. "Quarante jours durant," dit-il, 'nous avons vu les ennemis devant nous, et les voleurs derrière. Au retour, ces impitoyables maltôtiers ont refusé d'aider les misérables soldats, et ont retenu même leur paie. A présent ils triomphent de nos calamités; et se montrent hardiment à la cour, dont ils voudroient nous bannir: nous portons sur nos corps déchiquetés, et sur nos visages hâves et desséchés, les temoignages de nos vols.' Le monarque répondit en soupirant: 'Hélas! il est trop vrai.' En conséquence de la dénonciation, deux de ces avides financiers furent pendus, d'autres exposés sur les échafauds à la risée et aux insultes de la populace, un grand nombre taxés à les amendes applicables au soulagement des capitaines et soldats qui revenoient de cette malheureuse expédition."—Anquetil, Histoire de France, t. vi. p. 11.

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d'Alviano with a considerable force, induced Gonsalvo to depart from the cautious and harassing system he had hitherto pursued, and to come to a general engagement with the French army. On the 29th of December, 1503, and on a Friday, (that day deemed so fatal to the French, so auspicious to the Spanish arms,) d'Alviano attacked the first bridge and carried it, and the Great Captain coming upon the rear with the forces he had brought across the river by another bridge which he had constructed, wholly routed the French, pursued such as fled into Gaeta, which they were afterwards obliged to surrender, and ultimately obtained such a victory as altogether frustrated the design upon Naples, and reduced that kingdom under the dominion of Spain.

Gallantry
of Bayard,
La Palice,
and D'Ars.

Some actions of individual gallantry on the part of the French leaders were all that remained to console them under their disgrace, and to convince the world that their defeat was owing rather to ill fortune than to their want of courage. The chevalier Bayard kept the bridge over the Garigliano single-handed against two hundred Spaniards, with a courage and success which seem to be almost miraculous. (a) The

(a) An attack was made by the Spaniards upon the bridge, at which "the good knight, always anxious to be near the scene of action, had stationed himself hard by, with a bold gentleman, one Pierre de Tardes, surnamed Le Basque, equerry to King Louis XII. These two began to arm when they heard the noise, (whether or not they were soon equipped and mounted need is not to inquire,) intent on flying to the spot where the fray was taking place. But

marechal de la Palice, who had shut himself up in the little town of Rovero, repulsed in person three attacks which were made upon the outer wall, and being at length precipitated into the moat, and overcome by numbers, threw his sword as far away from him as possible, to avoid the disgrace of surrendering. Gonsalvo caused him to be led to the foot of the breach, for the purpose of inducing the garrison to yield; and La Palice took that opportunity of

when the good knight looks on the other side of the river, he spies about two hundred Spanish horse coming straight toward the bridge to get possession of it; which they would have done without finding much resistance, and thereby caused the total destruction of the French army. So he said to his companion: 'Master Equerry, my friend, go quickly, or we are all ruined; I will endeavour to hold the enemy in play till you come back; but make haste.' He obeyed; and the good knight, grasping his spear, goes to the end of the bridge, which the Spaniards on the other side were already preparing to pass; but he put his lance in the rest, and, like a furious lion, charged the troop, who were now in the very act of crossing, so that three or four were staggered; whereof two fell into the water, and never rose more, the stream being large and deep. That done, much work was cut out for him, he being so fiercely assaulted, that, without exceeding good horsemanship, he could not have resisted. But, like a chafed tiger, he threw himself against the rail of the bridge that the enemy might not get behind him, and defended himself so well with the sword, that the Spaniards were confounded, and thought he must be a fiend, not a man. In short, he held out so well and so long, that he gave not up till the equerry, Le Basque, brought him a considerable reinforcement, namely, one hundred gendarmes, who, on their arrival, forced the Spaniards to abandon the bridge entirely, and pursued them a mile beyond."—*Mém. du Chev. Bayard*, chap. xxv.

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exhorting them to hold out. (a) Louis d'Ars, who was a follower of the prince de Ligny, was desirous, after the total defeat of the French at Garigliano, to preserve, if it were possible, those lands in the Neapolitan territory which belonged to the prince in right of his wife; and with this view retired to Venosa, which he resolved to maintain, and which he kept for a year against the attacks of d'Alviano, whom Gonsalvo sent against him. D'Ars then informed the king that he was in want of succour; upon which Louis, who was unable to relieve him, bade him capitulate as well as he might. He obeyed reluctantly, but upon such terms as might well gild the shame of a defeat. He marched his soldiers out of the citadel with all the appointments of war; and, with no other means of defence than such as their own true weapons and indomitable valour supplied, he carried his little troop safely through a hostile country, surrounded on all hands by active enemies, and brought them to Blois, where the court was, and where they were received with the honours they deserved. (b)

(a) Anquetil, t. vi. p. 13.

(b) "Il en part, il s'en retourne, passe par le Milan de tout le Royaume de Naples, et de toute l'Italie, luy et tous ses gens, la lance sur la cuisse, armé de toutes pièces; tient les champs, et vit à discretion, et de gré a gré, par-tout où il loge; marche tousjours en forme de guerre, rapporte sa vie et son honneur, de luy et de ses compagnons, leurs bagues et leurs butins sauves; rentre ainsi en France, avec grande admiration de tout le monde: vint jusques à Blois, en tel ordre, faire la révérence au Roy son maistre, et à la reyne

CHAP.

I.

Borgia sent
a prisoner
into Spain,
and dies.

The days of Borgia's prosperity were ended. Julius II., who had at first pretended to treat him with some consideration, soon required him to give up the states of Romagna; and, for the purpose of enforcing this demand, seized his person. A change of fortune brought with it a change in the faith of his adherents. His kindred, friends, and allies dropped from him, every one abandoned him, and he was betrayed with as little remorse as it had cost him to betray others. He yielded to the storm which he could not withstand; promised to resign his dominions according to the pontiff's request; announced his intention of going to France, and procured a passport from Gonsalvo, who received him at Naples with a show of so great cordiality, that Borgia's ambition began once more to raise its head. He was preparing an armament for an attack on Pisa, when Ferdinand, whose fears he had excited, ordered Gonsalvo to seize and send him a prisoner to Spain. These orders, notwithstanding that Borgia was in the sacred character of his guest, and that he was protected by Gonsalvo's own passport, the Great Captain unhesitatingly executed, under circumstances of dissimulation which made his perfidy the more detestable. Borgia was ready to depart with his armed galleys on the following day; he went in the evening to

sa maïstresse, qui luy firent tel honneur de le voir ainsi arriver en si bel arroy, qu'après luy avoir faite bonne chere, et grand honneur, et à ses compagnons, ne se furent saouler de louer sa valeur et vertu, et de luy et d'eux, et les récompenser.'—
Brantome, t. vi. p. 121.

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visit Gonsalvo, who held a long conversation with him, bade him farewell, and embraced him on his departure; but as soon as he had quitted the chamber he was seized by Gonsalvo's guards, put on board a galley, and conveyed to Spain, where he remained a prisoner for the space of two years in the castle of Medina del Campo, (a) when he escaped from prison, and sought refuge with his wife's brother, Jean d'Albret, in whose service he met his death before the walls of Viana, a small fortress which he was besieging. (b)

The miscarriage of his designs inflicted a bitter mortification upon the French king. He had lost a fine army, and had wasted much treasure to no other purpose than that of swelling the triumph of the crafty Ferdinand. His domestic affairs were also a source of great care and anxiety to him. The rivalry between his queen and Louise of Savoy had manifested itself so plainly, that neither of them hesitated to express her animosity against the other. The two sons which had been borne by the queen

(a) Guicciardini, l. vi. p. 339. Ibid. l. vii. p. 370.

(b) "Le courage qui n'est pas une vertu, mais une qualité heureuse, commune au scélérats et aux grands hommes, ne l'abandonna pas dans son exile. Il ne quitta en rien son caractère; il intrigua; il commanda l'armée du roi de Navarre, son beau-frère, dans une guerre qu'il conseilla pour déposséder les vassaux de la Navarre comme il avait autrefois dépossédé les vassaux de l'Empire, et du Saint-Siège. Il fut tué, les armes à la main. Sa mort fut glorieuse; et nous voyons dans le cours de cette histoire des souverains légitimes, et des hommes vertueux périr par la main des bourreaux."—Volt., t. iii. p. 249.

had died in their infancy ; Francis was the heir presumptive to the throne, and neither of the princesses could hope to ascend it but by means of a marriage with him. The countess d'Angoulême, by secret intrigue and by open insult, added to the bitterness of the queen's disappointment, and confirmed her dislike. Parties were formed in the court, and the respective adherents of the rival ladies displayed no more moderation than their principals.

The queen was intitled to Brittany in her own right, and influenced, perhaps, by the desire which she avowed of giving to that province an independent governor, but more probably actuated by her hatred of Louise, she endeavoured to negotiate a marriage for her eldest daughter Claude with the duke of Luxembourg, one of the conditions of which was, that Brittany should form a part of the princess's dowry. The king, on the other hand, wished, because it was for the interest of his kingdom, that so valuable a possession as Brittany should not be severed from the crown of France, and that his eldest daughter should become the wife of Francis, now universally considered the next heir to his throne. His affection for the queen, as well as the habit in which he had indulged her of managing all that related to Brittany, almost without his interference, prevented him from openly checking her, and a prudent desire to avoid inflaming a rivalry which was already carried beyond the bounds of propriety, confirmed

CHAP.
I.

Louis XI.'s
illness.

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him in his forbearance. But his health sank under the irritation and disappointments which a concurrence of untoward events occasioned him, and he was seized with an indisposition which threatened to prove mortal.

The queen prepares to retire into Brittany, but is prevented.

The queen, who, notwithstanding some human weaknesses, was an extremely amiable person, and strongly attached to her husband, attended him in his sickness with the most anxious and affectionate solicitude. His malady, however, increased; he was given over by his physicians; and then the queen, who could not brook the idea of being second to her insulting rival, which was too likely to happen when Francis should have mounted the throne, began to take measures for withdrawing into Brittany. She caused her jewels and other valuable effects to be put on board some boats which were to sail down the Loire to Nantes. The *maréchal de Gié*, who had been appointed the governor of Francis, and commandant of Anjou, and who was also an adherent of the countess of Angoulême, to whose hand he had, it was said, once ventured to aspire, laid an embargo on the boats, and had taken measures for stopping the queen if she should attempt to quit the kingdom. The king, however, recovered; and the first use the queen made of the additional influence which her care of him in his illness had given her, was to procure the arrest of the *maréchal de Gié* on a charge of *lèse majesté*; for which accusation he had furnished some ground, by reason

The king recovers.

of certain hasty expressions which he had let fall.

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The king referred the cause to the parliament of Toulouse, the administration of which was considered to be the most rigorous in the kingdom. The real offence which the accused had given was kept out of sight, and the main part of the charge appeared to be, that he had indulged in indecent sarcasms upon the king's weak compliance with his wife's will, and upon some state abuses. The witnesses against him, who consisted for the most part of persons with whom he had been in habits of unreserved intimacy, deposed to his having used expressions, which, uttered perhaps in moments of gaiety, and without any serious meaning, were now collected in support of an accusation that affected his life. Confronted with these witnesses, the maréchal treated them with great disdain, and denied their charges. (a) The countess d'Angoulême herself gave evidence very unfavourable to him, and evinced that rancorous

Trial and disgrace of the maréchal de Gié.

(a) Pontbriant, Chamberlain of the Duke de Valois at the castle of Amboise, which was charged to have been the scene of Gié's outrageous discourse, stipulated beforehand that the maréchal should abstain from any expressions which, as a gentleman, he could not brook. The maréchal promised; but when he had heard his depositions—"Il ne put se contenir, et s'écria que *Pontbriant avoit faussement et malicieusement menti*. En vain le pria-t-on de souffrir que sa réponse fût écrite en termes plus menagés. *Il ne mérite pas d'être mieux traité*, dit-il, *c'est un franc hypocrite, un diseur de patenôtres; il en dit plus qu'un Cordelier, et m'a voulu donner un tour de cordon.*"—Anquetil, t. vi. p. 5.

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temper which afterwards developed itself so cruelly and so fatally for France, with a view, as it was believed, of avenging some excesses which the maréchal had committed in his former character of her suitor. In replying to the depositions of the countess, the maréchal conducted himself with great adroitness. He laid aside all his ferocity, and without alluding to the obvious fact, that his present accusation arose out of a desire to serve her and her cause, and without seeming to insinuate a reproach, he said to her, "Si j'avois toujours servi Dieu, comme je vous ai servi, Madame, je n'aurois pas grande compte à rendre à la mort." He respectfully denied some of the charges against him, put a favourable interpretation upon such as he was compelled to admit, and with respect to the insulting language which he was accused of having used concerning the queen, he said he had no recollection of ever having done so, and that he should have been ashamed to apply such expressions to any lady in the kingdom, however humble her condition might be. When he was called upon to name the witnesses for his defence, he gave in a long list, at the head of which was the king, next the Cardinal d'Amboise, the chief minister, and then a number of inaccessible persons, governors of remote places, ministers abroad on missions, officers who were with the army in Italy, and prisoners who might perhaps never return. This device, which was resorted to only for the sake of delay, would

have put off the decision of the cause for an almost interminable period, but that the queen insisted upon a sentence, which, when it was pronounced, acquitted the *maréchal* of *lèse majesté*, but deprived him of his office as governor of the young prince, of his castles of Amboise and Angers, and of his company of gendarmes, and suspended him for five years from his office as *maréchal* of France. The *maréchal* retired to Anjou, where he lived in great splendour, in the full enjoyment of his pleasures; and caring little for the cabal which had been raised against him. (*a*)

Ferdinand, in the mean time, was not quite at ease respecting his Neapolitan acquisitions; and, fearing that Louis might take up the cause of Frederic, the despoiled monarch of that kingdom, who, then a fugitive in the French court, had yet many partizans in the states of Naples hostile to the government of Spain, sent ambassadors to Louis to propose a treaty of peace. The same ambassadors had secret instructions to offer to Frederic the treacherous assistance of the deceitful Spaniard. Louis penetrated his scheme: he gave an audience to the ambassadors, at which he indignantly reproached them with their monarch's disgraceful perfidy, and ordered them to depart from his kingdom on the instant. (*b*)

(*a*) Anquetil, tom. vi. p. 11.

(*b*) The ambassadors returned to Spain apprehensive of their master's rage, when he should hear from their mouths

CHAP.

I.

1504.
The treaty
of Blois.

The queen, whom nothing could divert from her project in respect to Brittany, had been for some time secretly engaged in negotiations respecting the marriage of her eldest daughter with the young duke of Luxembourg, (a) son of the archduke Philip, who opened a negotiation with Louis, which led to the treaty of Blois, (22d September, 1504,) in which the emperor Maximilian, at the request of his son the archduke, became a party. By that treaty it was stipulated that the lady Claude should be given in marriage to the young duke of Luxembourg, whom fate had destined for France's most formidable and implacable enemy, with the duchy of Brittany on her mother's death, and the present possession of the counties of Ast, Boulogne, and Blois, the patrimony of the house of Orleans, which Louis had agreed to give up to his daughter.

A treaty more fatal to the hopes of Francis could hardly have been contemplated. The lady Claude, who had been long talked of as his destined bride, was to be given to a stranger to the country and crown, and his future realm was by the same means to have been dismembered of some of its most valuable possessions, upon which the safety of the kingdom in a great degree depended. In return for this,

that Louis accused him of having twice cheated him. "Twice!" replied the shameless traitor: "the drunkard lies: I have cheated him more than ten times."

(a) Varillas, Histoire de François I., t. i. p. 7.

the emperor was to grant the investiture of the duchy of Milan to Louis and his heirs, and in default of issue to the heirs of the lady Claude, a concession merely nominal, and one which could not make his title a jot the better to a possession which could only be maintained by the sword. It was stipulated besides, that if the projected marriage should not take place through any default on the part of France, all claim to Burgundy, and all interest that might be acquired in Milan, should be ceded to the duke of Luxembourg; but, if the failure should be occasioned by the house of Austria, then that Charolois, Artois, and the adjacent seignories should for the future belong to France. (*a*)

At the same time was laid the foundation for a league between the Pope, the emperor, and Louis, against Venice, the prosperity of which state, not less than the insolence and want of faith she had displayed, had made all the neighbouring nations her covert or avowed enemies.

The vigilant countess of Angoulême was not likely to let a treaty so injurious to her own and her son's interests as that of Blois pass unopposed: but events were at hand which frustrated the projects of her opponents much more effectually than she or her party could have done. The king had scarcely performed homage, by his envoy, to the emperor for the fruitless investiture of Milan, when he was attacked by a malady, similar to that under which he had la-

(*a*) Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 105. Anquetil, t. vi. p. 22.

CHAP.
I.

The king
again falls
ill,

boured in the preceding year, and which threatened to terminate his existence. D'Amboise, the ablest of the advisers of the crown, who, if he had ever seriously intended to agree to the treaty of Blois, had by this time become convinced of its danger and impropriety, absolved the king from the engagement to keep it, and procured him to make a will, to which in that conjuncture even the queen did not object, by which he directed that his daughter Claude should be married to the count d'Angoulême as soon as their years should permit, and appointed his queen and the lady Louise regents of the kingdom in the mean time, with the assistance of a state council. Louis, however, recovered; and this strange disposition, by which two rivals, who mortally hated each other, were to have acted in concert, never took effect.

and reco-
vers.

1505.
Death of
Isabella of
Spain.

The renowned Isabella of Spain dying at the end of this year, threw her husband, who held his dominions in a sort of partnership with her, into some embarrassment. His son-in-law, the archduke, claimed the crown of Castile in right of his wife, Jeanne la Folle, daughter of Isabella; and Ferdinand, who found it difficult to deny his claim, then made offers for a peace with Louis. He proposed to marry the king's niece, Germaine de Foix, on condition that the king would relinquish to him, as her dowry, his pretensions to Naples, the whole of which kingdom was to revert to the crown of France in case Germaine survived Ferdinand, and died without issue. These con-

Marriage
of Ferdi-
nand with
Germaine
de Foix.

ditions were agreed to, the prisoners on either side were released, and a pacification effected between Louis and Ferdinand. The latter immediately afterwards quitted Spain, somewhat in awe of his son-in-law, whose spirit he feared no less than the strength he had recently acquired by an alliance with England, and retired to Naples. (a)

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I.

Louis, now relieved from the distractions which foreign wars and negotiations had occasioned, applied himself to the settlement of his domestic affairs. An assembly of the states-general was held at Tours, convened, as it was said, by the nobles and other influential persons of the kingdom, of their own authority, but which it seems more probable was a measure sanctioned, if not suggested, by the king, for the purpose of getting decently rid of the treaty of Blois. Louis readily repaired to Tours to give the states-general the audience they had demanded. On the 10th of May, 1506, the king, seated on a throne, and accompanied on his right hand by the cardinals d'Amboise and de Narbonne, the chancellor, with a numerous body of prelates, and on the left hand by the young count d'Angoulême, the other princes of the blood, the lords and barons, the first president of the parliament, and several counsellors, received the assembly of the states. (b) Bricot, a doctor of the University

Assembly
of the
States Ge-
neral at
Tours.

(a) Mezeray, p. 540. L. P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 114.

(b) Whence it appears that the persons accompanying the king are distinct from the states-general. Henault, Abr. Chron., t. i. p. 345.

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I.

of Paris, and who, in consequence of his reputation for eloquence, was selected to address the king in the name of the assembly, delivered an harangue, in which after expressing the gratitude of the people towards a monarch who had diminished the public taxes, and secured a mild and impartial administration of justice, he urged the destructive consequences which must ensue to France by the separation of Brittany, and the other stipulations which the treaty of Blois had bound him to perform. His speech concluded by a request that the king would unite his daughter in marriage to the prince, who, if his majesty should have no sons to succeed him, would inherit the crown, and in this request the whole assembly, kneeling before the king, joined.

Louis could not fail to be convinced by arguments, which his own inclinations so powerfully seconded. The orator had ingeniously contrived too, by allusions to Louis's government, which was in the highest degree just and moderate, so far as the people of France alone were concerned, and by applying to him that epithet, which his memory still retains, *of the father of his people*, to excite the king's feelings so strongly that he shed tears. The assembly was adjourned to the next day, when Louis, after a decorous shew of scruples which he could not feel, yielded to the voice of his people. He created Francis duke of Valois, and on the twenty-first day of the same month, on the feast of the ascension,

the ceremony of betrothing the youthful pair was solemnly performed by the cardinal d'Amboise in the presence of the whole court, after which the assembly broke up. (*a*)

CHAP.
I.

The princess
Claude
is affianced
to Francis.

When this event, by which Francis's character of heir presumptive may be said to have been publicly recognized, took place, he had just attained his twelfth, and the princess Claude her fourth year. The countess d'Angoulême succeeded in the accomplishment of her design, and thus Francis in his boyhood gained his first triumph over him who was destined to be his rival through life, and whom fortune more than recompensed in their subsequent competitions for this early disappointment.

(*a*) Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 126. Anquetil, t. vi. p. 36.

CHAP. II.

Julius attempts the expulsion of the French from Italy—Encourages a revolt in Genoa—Which is subdued by Louis in person—Interview between Louis and Ferdinand—Julius effects the league of Cambray against the Venetians, who endeavour to avert the war, but in vain—Louis enters Italy with a large army, and defeats the Venetians at Agnadello—Returns to France—The Venetians recover themselves, and are reconciled to the Pope—Julius persists in his hostility to France—Solicits Henry VIII. to join a league, and succeeds in detaching the Swiss from the French interests—Louis calls a Council of the Gallican Church, by which Julius's proceedings are condemned—Julius takes the field in person—Attacks Ferrara and takes Mirandola—Calls a Council of the Lateran—Replies to the charges of the Council, and forms the Holy League against France—Gaston de Foix assumes the command of the Italian army—His rapid victories, and death at Ravenna—The troops of the League drive the French out of Italy—Ferdinand attacks Navarre with the assistance of England—Expels Jean d'Albret—Louis sends an army thither under the command of Francis, duke of Valois—Effects a reconciliation with the Venetians—Julius dies—His character—Leo X. is elected Pope—The war is continued—The defeat of the French at Novarra—The French again expelled from Italy—Henry VIII.

invades France—The siege of Terouenne—The battle of the Spurs—The Swiss penetrate France and besiege Dijon, but are pacified by la Tremoille—Henry takes Tournay and retires from France—Death of Anne of Brittany—Marriage of Francis with the Princess Claude—Proposal of Marriage between Louis and the Princess Mary of England—Accepted—She repairs to France, is married and crowned—Louis dies—His character.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCE was not likely to enjoy any long repose while Julius II. occupied the see of Rome. That prelate was a man of turbulent disposition and strong passions ; and although not prone to the enormous vices which, in Alexander VI., had disgraced the Pontifical function, and shamed humanity, he was not too scrupulous as to the means by which he sought to carry his designs into effect. With many faults, for which, in his character of a churchman, it is impossible to find any excuse, he possessed a capacious and active mind, indomitable courage, and a warm love of his country. The object dearest to his heart was the expulsion of the French from Italy ; and for the accomplishment of this he had determined to spare no pains, and to encounter every hazard. He was also desirous of restoring to the Church the domains which, by various accidents, and at different periods, had been wrested from it ; and he had resolved to tame the insolence of some of the independent states, among which, as Venice was the most arrogant and the most powerful, he had determined it should be the first to feel the effects of his vengeance ; but he did not, in the mean time, give up his design of destroying the interests of France.

1506.
Julius at-
tempts the
expulsion
of the
French
from Italy.

CHAP.

II.

1507.
Revolt of
Genoa.

Genoa, of which Louis had obtained the cession, was a place of considerable importance to him, because it afforded him an easy passage to Milan. The people had, on all occasions, manifested a love of freedom, and a hatred of the insolent nobility, by whom they were treated with haughtiness and cruelty. Frequent disturbances were the consequences of an animosity which neither side took any pains to conceal; the factions of the Guelfs and Ghibelines existed in this city with all their old rancour, and were severally represented by the families of the Adorni and Fregosi.

A tumult arose in consequence of a dispute between some of the partisans of these houses, in which a gentleman of the family of Doria, and some others, were slain. The private quarrel became a public one, and the populace finding themselves stronger than the nobles, demanded that in the public council, which had been theretofore composed of equal numbers of citizens and nobles, the people should return two-thirds and the nobility but one-third of the whole body. Philip of Cleves, count Ravestein, the governor, was absent; and his lieutenant, Rocalbertino, had the weakness to yield to this demand. The people, encouraged by their success, openly revolted. Ravestein hastened back, and committed the egregious blunder of attempting to tranquillize the flushed populace by persuasion and mildness. The Pope, who was a native of Savona, and sprung from a

plebeian family of Genoa, would gladly have seen the nobility destroyed for this reason, no less than for the hatred be bore to France. He therefore instructed his emissaries secretly to encourage the disorders, an office which they performed with so much industry, that a street brawl soon became an open rebellion against the French government. The people took up arms, elected eight officers, whom they called tribunes of the people, and invested Paolo di Nove, a silk-dyer, with the dignity of doge. The cry of "Liberty" resounded through the streets; the city declared itself independent of all authority; the populace tore down and demolished the arms of France, and put up those of the empire instead; seized the places which Luigi dal Fiesco held for France, and laid siege to Monaco. (*a*) They are accused of having manifested their animosity against the French by excesses so full of horror and atrocity as almost to surpass belief. (*b*)

The king, who suspected that the emperor as well as the Pope, had fomented the disorders of Genoa, marched thither instantly with an army

1507.
Louis sub-
dues the
revolt in
person.

(*a*) Guicciardini, l. vii. p. 371.

(*b*) "Dont une chronique du temps termine le tableau par ces traits; 'Ils croisoient,' (mettoient en croix) 'les François qu'ils rencontroient; leur arrachioient le cœur et les entrailles; se lavoient les mains dans leur sang; les tailloient en pièces sans pitié, avec les femmes qui là étoient, lesquelles faisoient mourir de tant cruelle et étrange mort, que l'horreur du fait me défend d'en dire la manière.'"—Anquetil, t. vi. p. 40.

CHAP. of 50,000 men, accompanied by the dukes of
 II. Bourbon, Lorraine, and Alençon. (a)

The mere appearance of this force was sufficient to check so rash and ill-organized a revolt as that of Genoa. The rebels were immediately reduced from the topmost excesses of insolence and defiance to utter despair, and opening their gates, they submitted to be disarmed, and tremblingly threw themselves upon the clemency of the irritated monarch.

On the 28th of April, 1507, Louis, clad in complete armour, with a white surcoat, and his sword bared, rode into the terror-stricken city, accompanied by his gendarmes and the archers of his body guard. The town council presented themselves before him, and with tears and prostrations besought his mercy. The king listened to their deprecatory harangue, bade them rise, and vouchsafing no other reply, passed on without changing the sternness of his countenance; but it was hailed as a token of intended mercy, that he immediately afterwards gave his sword

(a) In his train were thirty prelates. The purpose for which he led with him these preachers of peace would seem inexplicable, unless it were to increase the pomp of his expedition. One among them, indeed, afforded an instance which was not, in those times, a very unusual one, of a churchman who united the character of a warrior with his holy profession. The bishop of Liége, afterwards known as the cardinal de la Mark, and who in that character materially influenced the election to the empire in favour of Charles V., rode with the king, armed at all points, engaged in fight whenever an occasion offered, and always acquitted himself manfully.—Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 136.

to one of the gentlemen who rode near him. (a) CHAP.
II.
The king's escort moved onwards to the church, which he had no sooner entered than an infinite number of women and children, clothed in white, cast themselves at his feet, and supplicated his mercy and compassion with loud cries and tears. The king, who could not conceal his emotion at this spectacle, abandoned the intention which, it is said, he had entertained, of making a dreadful example of this rebellious city, and withdrew hastily to the palace that had been prepared for him, first giving orders that the Swiss troops in his service, who remained without the walls, anxiously awaiting the signal which was to glut their appetite for rapine, should not enter the place. The whole amount of his rigour ultimately consisted in imposing a fine on the community, which was expended in building a fortress near the city to prevent future disorders, and which was thence called, not inaptly, "the bridle of Genoa," and in the punishment of some of the ringleaders of the revolt. He confirmed the ancient government of the city by a new charter, and as a privilege which he granted them of his own free will; he increased their garrison, erased the old impress from the coin, and substituted his own effigies and arms in sign of his supremacy.

(a) The banner which was carried before him was painted with a bee surrounded by a swarm, and the motto was, *Non utitur aculeo Rex qui paremus*; a circumstance upon which also the dejected Genoese founded some hope.

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Paolo di Nove, the doge of the rebellion, was betrayed by a Corsican who had borne arms under him, and was sold to the French. He was decapitated, as well as Demetrio Gino, who, on being interrogated, disclosed the practices of the Pope, and convinced the king of his treachery. (a)

Louis, who, at the commencement of this expedition, had been obliged to impose some additional taxes, no sooner found that he had terminated the enterprise without cost, than he ordered the collection to cease; a proceeding which exposed him to the ridicule of some of his unthinking courtiers, but formed an additional claim to the affection of the people, who had given him the appellation of their father. (b)

The king then visited Milan, where he was received with great pomp, and several festivals were held in honour of his coming, among which, that of Gian Giacomo Trivulzio was the

(a) Guicciardini, l. vii. p. 375.

(b) This supposed parsimony of Louis, which, however, sprung chiefly from a desire to promote the welfare of his people, and in no respect approached avarice, was ridiculed in a sort of farce which was represented with great applause at Paris. The king was informed of this: he replied, "*J'aime beaucoup mieux faire rire les courtisans de mon avarice que faire pleurer le peuple de mes profusions.*" And when he was urged to punish the comedians, he said; "*Non, ils peuvent nous apprendre des vérités utiles. Laissons les se divertir, pourvu qu'ils respectent l'honneur des dames. Je ne suis pas fâché que l'on sache que dans mon règne on a pris cette liberté impunément.*"—Anquetil, t. vi. p. 46.

most magnificent. (a) He returned thence to Savona to meet Ferdinand the catholic, who was returning from Naples to Spain to resume the government of Castile, which had become vacant by the untimely death of the archduke Philip. (b) The Spanish king was accompanied by his young wife and by Gonsalvo di Cordova, the latter of whom he was taking home with him in consequence of the jealousy he had conceived at seeing the power and popularity which the Great Captain had acquired at Naples.

CHAP:
II.

Interview
between
Louis and
Ferdinand.

Louis received his old enemy with honour, (c)

(a) The king opened the ball with the marchioness of Mantua, and the cardinals of Narbonne and St. Severin were among the dancers.—Anquetil, t. vi. p. 49.

(b) Philip's death, which took place on the 24th of September in the preceding year, was suspected to have been brought about by poison; but, common as such practices were at this time, the more rational opinion seems to be, that he died of a fever, which great debility, the consequence of his excesses, had rendered him unable to withstand. He gave the most satisfactory proof of the estimation in which he held Louis, by appointing him guardian to his son, a trust which was performed in such a manner as proved the confidence was not misplaced.

(c) On this occasion the two sovereigns contended with each other in their respect and attention to the Great Captain. Louis XII. was unwearied in expressing his admiration of the character and talents of a man, who had wrested from him a kingdom, and by his solicitations Gonsalvo was permitted to sit at the same table with the royal guests. As this day, in the estimation of the vulgar, was the highest, so it was considered as the last, of the glory of Gonsalvo. On his arrival in Spain, he received a notification from Ferdinand to retire to his country residence, and not to appear at court without leave. From that moment his great talents were

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and his niece with an affection, which, it is said, her wary spouse managed to turn to his own advantage. They had long conferences together, and mutually pledged their oaths upon the holy sacrament to lasting peace and amity; the only result of which was, to add another perjury to the black catalogue with which the conscience of the pious Ferdinand was already loaded.

1508.
The league
of Cam-
bray.

Julius, in the mean time, persisted earnestly in the execution of his design. He demanded from the city of Venice restitution of the church possessions in Romagna, which they had made themselves masters of upon the expulsion of Cæsar Borgia, and which included the cities of Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, and Rimini. Having received from them the refusal which he expected, he sought to engage as many powers as he could in a league against them. The prosperity,

condemned to oblivion, and he remained useless and unemployed till the time of his death, in the year 1515, when he received the reward of his services in a pompous funeral, furnished at the expense of the king. In reviewing the transactions of his past life, Gonsalvo was accustomed to say, that he had nothing wherewith to reproach himself, except his breach of faith to Ferdinand, the young duke of Calabria, and the transmitting Cæsar Borgia as a prisoner in Spain, contrary to the assurances of protection which he had given him. To these acknowledged errors he is however said to have added, that he had committed another crime, the nature of which he would never explain. This unconfessed, and by himself unforgiven sin, is supposed to have been the suffering himself to be divested of his authority at Naples, when he had a military force at his command.—Roscoe's *Leo X.*, vol. ii, p. 47.

the apparent independence, the insolence, and the confidence of Venice, (a) had made her feared by some of the neighbouring potentates, and disliked by all of them. Upon these general feelings the crafty pontiff worked, and represented to Louis that, if he was desirous of regaining the rich district on the left of the Adda, and the cities of Brescia, Crema, Bergamo, and Cremona, parts of the ancient demesnes of Milan, the time was now come when that desire might be certainly accomplished. He urged the needy and faithless Maximilian to strike for Padua, Verona, Vicenza, and Friuli. To Ferdinand he pointed out the dishonest pleasure he might obtain by wresting the Neapolitan seaports from the states of Venice, to which they had been pledged as securities for a loan of money. The ambition and rapacity of the several persons whom he addressed, powerfully seconded his persuasions. Plenipotentiaries were appointed, and in October, 1508, they met in the city of Cambray, under pretence of settling some affairs relating to the Low Countries. The cardinal d'Amboise, as the Pope's legate, and as Louis's ambassador, represented those two powers. Maximilian sent his daughter, Margaret of Austria, the widow of the duke of Savoy, and the able governess of the Low Countries during the minority of her nephew, the

(a) "Credendosi haver sempre il vento in poppa."—Machiavelli, *Asino d'Oro*, c. v.

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duke of Luxembourg; and Ferdinand's minister was Jacopo d'Albion. In December, the stipulations of the treaty were completed; and a power being reserved for some of the independent states of Italy, and for the kings of England and Hungary, to accede to the League, it was definitively signed. (a)

The Venetians, who had received intimation of the storm that was gathering for their destruction, sent an ambassador (b) to France, to endeavour to dissuade Louis from a project which as regarded his own interests was useless, and as it attacked theirs was iniquitous. They endeavoured to propitiate the emperor and Ferdinand, solicited the aid of England, and even of the em-

(a) Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, par l'Abbé du Bos.

(b) " Il se nommoit *Condolmier*, homme aimable, qui se trouvoit souvent embarrassé, au milieu d'une cour où les préventions contre la république débordient pour ainsi dire, de toutes parts. *Condolmier* étoit valétudinaire. On lui demandoit un jour des nouvelles de sa santé. *Je me porte assez bien*, dit-il, *si ce n'est que j'ai grand mal aux oreilles, entendant journellement ce qui se dit contre la république.* Dans une explication avec le roi, qui l'admettoit souvent à sa conversation, le Vénitien, après avoir remontré au monarque le danger qu'il couroit en quittant d'anciens alliés, et s'attachant à des ennemis à peine reconciliés, *la république*, disoit-il, *a de grandes ressources et c'est une entreprise bien perilleuse de s'attaquer à une puissance gouvernée par tant de têtes sages.* *Monsieur l'Ambassadeur*, repondit Louis, *tout ce que vous venez de me dire est fort bien; mais j'opposerai tant de fous à vos sages, qu'ils auront bien de la peine à les gouverner. Nos fous sont gens qui frappent à droite et à gauche, et qui n'entendant pas raison, quand ils ont une fois commencé.*"—Anquetil, t. vi. p. 54.

peror of Turkey, and on all hands they met with disappointments. A plan was proposed in the senate which might have saved them, but it was not thought consistent with the dignity, nor with the permanent safety of the state; it was to endeavour to pacify the Pope, by offering him all that he could hope to obtain by attacking them. The indignant speech of Domenico Trevisano, procurator of St. Mark, fixed their wavering councils and induced them to disregard the menaces of so unworthy a person as he described the Pope to be. "Because," he said, "it is not to be believed that the Almighty God will permit, that the issues of his rigour or of his mercy, of his anger or of his peace, shall be placed in the hands of a most arrogant and ambitious man, one who is addicted to wine and other unseemly lusts, and that such a man shall deal them as his cupidity counsels him, not as justice directs."^(a) This eloquence had its effect, the more prudent counsel was disregarded, and the bolder, but more perilous one, followed.

The resolve being once taken, the preparations for defence were made with great alacrity. A powerful army was raised, the command of which was entrusted to the count of Pitigliano, Antonio de Pii, and Bartolommeo d'Alviano, leaders of tried talents and great experience, and a fleet was equipped for the purpose of co-operating with the land forces. Julius fulminated his excommunications against the state, to which

(a) Guicciardini, l. viii. p. 416.

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the Venetians replied by a just recrimination against his holiness, and an appeal to a more righteous tribunal. (a) Louis declared war against them by a herald at arms, to whom the doge gave a short and dignified answer, in which, leaving the king to settle with his conscience the injustice of his conduct, he announced the intention of the seignory to rely upon the strength of their arms, and the goodness of their cause. A succession of events, which, whether fatal or fortuitous, are by the vulgar looked upon as the certain forerunners of calamity, happened to Venice at this moment. The castle of Brescia was blown up; a galley, which had on board 10,000 ducats destined for the relief of Ravenna, was lost at sea; the depositary of the public archives at Venice suddenly fell down; but the crowning misfortune was the destruction of the arsenal there, which was fired either by accident or by treachery. (b) The Venetians however defied the augury, garrisoned their strong places, and sent their generals to the field.

Louis enters Italy.

Louis displayed great alacrity in performing his part of the unjust treaty to which he had

(a) “Còntro alla qual bulla fu da huomini incogniti presentata pochi giorni poi nella città di Roma una scrittura in nome di principe, e di magistrati Vinitiani, nella qual, dopo lunga e acerbissima narratione contro al Pontefice, e il re di Francia, si interponeva l'appellatione dal monitorio al futuro concilio, e in difetto della giustitia humana, a piedi di Christo giustissimo giudice, e principe supremo di tutti.”—Guicciardini, l. viii. p. 418.

(b) Guicciardini, l. viii. p. 427.

pledged himself. At the head of the *élite* of his cavalry, amounting to 20,000 men, as many Swiss mercenaries, and a strong body of French infantry, he descended into Italy. His army marched in three divisions. The first was commanded by the *maréchals* Trivulzio and Chaumont; the king in person led the second division, or *battle* as it was then called; and the rear-guard was under the guidance of Francis, duke of Longueville. Some of the most distinguished of the heroes, whose names had been, or were thenceforward to become illustrious, fought in this army. Among them were the rash and ill-fated Charles of Bourbon, afterwards constable of France; Gaston de Foix, who, yet a boy, gave promise of that distinguished valour which subsequently shone so brightly and so briefly in the disastrous victory of Ravenna; d'Aubigny, one of the most renowned warriors that Scotland had produced; the adventurous Robert de la Mark, afterwards *maréchal de Fleuranges*; la Palice, whom peril could not appal, nor reverses tame; and the chevalier Bayard, the flower of chivalry; besides many persons of more exalted rank. Louis's army passed the Adda without interruption, but were soon afterwards driven back by the count of Pitigliano, who took and sacked Trevi and Rivolta, in which were French garrisons. The king, enraged at this disgrace, resolved to force the Venetians to an engagement, and d'Alviano's impetuosity seconded his design.

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II.

Louis de-
feats the
Venetians
at Agna-
dello.

It had been determined in the French council to endeavour to take Pandino, a place which would enable its possessors to cut off the supplies which were intended for the enemy; and the Venetians, being desirous to prevent its falling into the hands of the French, both of the armies marched to that spot. The roads they took were so near to each other, that, although they could not come to skirmishing by reason of the bed of a torrent which lay between them, they cannonaded each other on the march as opportunities offered. The van-guard of the French army, and the rear of the Venetian force, which was under the command of d'Alviano, happened to approach each other as they came near the small village of Agnadello. D'Alviano, whose greatest fault was his rashness, thought he could attack them advantageously, and sent to intimate this to the count of Pitigliano, requesting that his colleague would come to his relief with the rest of the force. The count bade him keep on his march, and not engage in a combat which good policy counselled him to avoid, and which had been forbidden by the positive commands of the Venetian senate. D'Alviano could not however be restrained; he had taken up an advantageous position, his guns were well placed, and the spot was so thickly covered with brush-wood and vine-stocks, that the enemy's cavalry could not act. He persisted therefore in making an attack which was at first very successful, and placed the *battle*, in

which Louis fought, in great danger. A dexterous movement of the French rear-guard relieved them from their difficulty. Bayard, who commanded there, then advanced with a body of foot so opportunely, that he drove the Venetians from their vantage, and enabled the gendarmes to come to the charge. The presence of the French king, who encountered the perils to which the commonest soldiers of his army were exposed, and who led several charges with great gallantry, roused the spirits of his men. He was in vain pressed to retire beyond the range of the enemy's fire: "If any one is afraid, let him come behind me," was his only reply. The conflict was sanguinary and desperate, but short. D'Alviano fought like a man who had placed every thing upon a single cast, and, surrounded by a select troop of his own men, disputed the fight long after every one besides saw that all was lost. (a) The count of Pitigliano could not, or would not, come to his assistance, but retreated with a part of the cavalry. At the end of three hours the rout was complete. The slaughter among the Venetian infantry had been immense, eight thousand, as some authors have reported, lying dead on the field. D'Alviano with the loss of an eye, and with his face mutilated, and covered with blood, was led a prisoner to the king's tent. (b)

(a) Brantome, dis. xlvii.

(b) The king, who had a high opinion of his courage, is said to have caused an alarm to be made as if the fight had

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II.

Louis re-
turns to
France.

Louis pursued his success with such rapidity that in fifteen days he made himself master of the districts of Ghiara d'Adda and Caravaggio, of the cities of Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, and of the fortress of Peschiera; and having utterly destroyed the territorial power of Venice, he returned to France. The state was reduced to despair, relinquished all her possessions on the main land, and sought, by every kind of submission, to propitiate the powers which were leagued against her. The Pope was at first inflexible, and the emperor fancied that the display of a similar temper suited his circumstances. He came however as speedily as his indigence permitted him to take possession of Trevisa, and, by the time he was ready, the inhabitants had determined to resist his entrance.

The Vene-
tians reco-
ver them-
selves,

The count of Pitigliano, with the survivors of Agnadello, had thrown themselves into the city of Padua, and resolved to defend it; and when Maximilian arrived before the city, he found himself engaged in an affair which he had neither men, nor money, nor spirit to complete. Louis sent him, at his request, a body of cavalry, of whom Bayard was one, and which was commanded by la Palice, but even their

been renewed; and interrupting the conversation in which they were engaged, asked him what that meant. D'Alviano smiled, and replied with great composure, "Sire, s'il y a combat aujourd' hui, ce ne peut être qu'entre les François; car les notres vous les avez gouvernés de manière que vous ne les verrez de quinze jours en face."—Anquetil, t. vi.

courage and prowess were neutralized by Maximilian's vacillation and timidity. The Venetians took heart at these events, of which the absence of the king of France was the most favourable to them, and strengthened Padua; while the mercenary Swiss, who composed a great part of Maximilian's army, deserted by whole companies. At length Maximilian adopted a measure which was in perfect accordance with his whole life; he decamped in the night with a few attendants, and left his generals and his allies to raise the siege, and to retreat as well as they might be able (*a*)

The Venetians, notwithstanding the temporary success they had gained, found that they had too many enemies to encounter single-handed. They therefore renewed their offers of submission to the Pope, and now with better success. Julius had humbled their arrogance, curtailed their power, and regained the church estates which they had held. This was all that he aimed at as regarded them; his ultimate object was to drive "the barbarians," as he called the French and Germans, out of Italy, and in the accomplishment of this he thought he could make the Venetians his instruments. He therefore received them again to his grace, enjoined them certain spiritual penances, and released them from the interdict of the church. He viewed with jealousy, and not without apprehension, the union between the

and are re-
conciled to
the Pope.

(*a*) Anquetil, t. vi. p. 62.

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II.

Julius persists in his hostility to France.

king of France and the emperor, and his hatred against France, which was the more inexplicable, because when obliged to fly from the vengeance of Alexander VI. he had found an asylum in the court of France, and had been treated with great kindness by Louis XII., broke out in the most violent and unbecoming expressions. But it was under the influence of feelings more noble than those of personal dislike that Julius determined to break his alliance with France, and to become its avowed enemy. His plan was worthy of a great mind, and he possessed the courage as well as the skill necessary for its accomplishment. He observed with a wary eye the faults which the French king had committed. Louis had impoverished the country, had disgusted most of its inhabitants, and had omitted to perfect his conquest by remaining in person, or by leaving there competent garrisons. (a) Of all Italy, therefore, with the exception of Milan and Genoa, Julius felt he was sure. He attempted to excite a revolt in the latter city; but the recent peril of the inhabitants made them cautious of incurring again the resentment of Louis; and even the spell-word of freedom, by which they had been on other occasions so easily roused, had now lost its influence. He offered the needy and sordid Maximilian gold, but the Emperor's fears were for once more powerful than his avarice. He assailed the young king of

(a) Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, c. iii.

England, Henry VIII., who was reputed to be both pious and ambitious, by sending him a golden rose dipped in chrism, and perfumed with musk, accompanied by a letter full of strong exhortations, and an offer of constituting him the head of a league against France. Henry thereupon sent Bainbridge, archbishop of York, to Rome, who was in the sequel wholly gained over to the Pope's interest against France. (*a*)

The Swiss had demanded from Louis an increase of their pensions, and this request not being readily complied with, the Pope took advantage of that circumstance to detach them from him. For this purpose he employed Matthew Scheiner, a native of the district of La Vallée, whom he created cardinal de Sion. Scheiner had an uncle, who being bishop of Sion, had given his kinsman a canonry in that church. The contests which almost always prevailed between the bishop and his diocesans, enabled this pugnacious churchman to indulge his natural love of warfare. He put himself at the head of a body of troops which he employed first in harassing his uncle's opponents, and then in compelling the chapter of Sion to re-

Detaches
the Swiss.

(*a*) The Pope's present was directed to Archbishop Warham, "who had instructions to present it to the king at high mass, with the Pope's benediction, with a letter full of complaints against the French king, and representing him as one who had no regard either for God or a good name or conscience; and, among other invectives, whose design was to lay the foundation of his empire in the usurpation and conquest of all Italy."—Fiddes's *Wolsey*, p. 31.

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ceive him as co-adjutor. He had gained a paramount influence among the mountaineers, as well by his valour as by a forcible eloquence, which, though rude, was so admirably adapted to their passions and understandings, that his harangues moved that savage people, as the wind agitates the leaves of a forest. (*a*) By his means Julius engaged their services, and invested them with the title of the defenders of the church, an appellation which flattered their vanity, while Scheiner's martial sermons made them believe that the war to which he urged them against Louis would be as meritorious as a crusade. Influenced by his persuasions, they therefore agreed to make a descent upon Italy. Ferdinand not only renounced without hesitation the league of Cambray, from which he had now gained all that he could hope for, but entered into that of the Pope, urged his son-in-law, Henry VIII., to do the same, and accepted from Julius a full investiture of the kingdom of Naples.

Louis calls
a council of
the Galli-
can church,

Louis perceived the storm that was gathering around him on all sides. He would willingly have taken the field, and would have tried in arms the strength of the Pope and his allies; but, with no other aid than Maximilian's, this would have been a step too hazardous. He resolved, therefore, to turn against Julius the arms of his own church, and called a council of the French prelates at Tours, to whom he submitted a series of questions, the general effect of which was whether a Pope had a right to levy war, when

(*a*) Mezeray, p. 547.

neither religion nor the demesnes of the church were its object; and whether, such a war being levied, it might not be righteously opposed by force. The reply was, as might have been expected, the Gallican church fully authorized Louis to make the war he projected an offensive one, and declared that any papal excommunication issued during its continuance would be null. Relying upon the provisions of the pragmatic sanction—the charter, as it may be called, of the liberties of the Gallican church—they forbade any applications to be made to the court of Rome respecting the disposition of benefices, or any money to be transmitted thither. They suggested to the king the propriety of calling a general council, for which Julius's conduct by discontenting some of his cardinals, had furnished the elements; and in addition to this they afforded the king the more substantial aid of granting him a large subsidy, to be raised on the church possessions. (a)

The war was begun by the Pope, who leaving to Louis the spiritual weapons to which he had resorted, betook himself to the more efficacious mode of attacking with the arm of flesh, and in person, the district of Ferrara, and narrowly escaped being made a prisoner in Bologna.

Julius seemed not only to have thrown off all the habits and demeanour of a prelate; but to have assumed those of a soldier with the most determined resolution. His troops were besieging Mirandola, and, suspecting that they did not pursue the siege with sufficient alac-

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II.

who condemn the
Pope's proceedings.

Julius
takes the
field in per-
son.

Attacks
Ferrara,

(a) Mezeray, p. 547. Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 214.

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II.
and takes
Mirandola.

rity, he marched thither instantly, old and worn out as he was, to supply by his own presence all that he believed was necessary to the taking the place. It was in the midst of one of the hardest winters that had been known in Italy. A fall of snow, which had continued for several days together, had covered the roads, and a bitter wind prevailed. At his outset he narrowly escaped being captured by Bayard, who had laid a scheme for taking him, which only failed of succeeding by a mere accident. Nothing could check the martial ardour of this head of the church. He assisted in person at the works in the trenches, directed the planting the artillery, commanded the assaults, and frequently exposed himself to imminent danger; while the troop of cardinals who accompanied him, endeavoured to conceal their own cowardice by reprehending and deploring excesses so unseemly. The breach was at length made, and the moat which surrounded the fortress being covered with thick ice, no longer answered the purpose of defence. Francesca, the widow of Ludovico Pico, and the daughter of Gian Giacopo Trivulzio, who had defended the place with an heroic resolution until she saw all hope was gone, surrendered the castle. Such however was the impatience of Julius, that he would not wait until the gates could be opened; but mounted the breach with a scaling ladder, and so entered the fortress he had subdued. (a)

The exertion he had made brought on a fever,

(a) Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, t. xli. p. 65.

which obliged him to pause for a short time; but repose was hateful to him, and as soon as he was able to move, the restless old man resumed his plans, which were particularly directed against the duke of Ferrara, one of the most troublesome of his enemies. Bologna was again attacked, and a popular tumult in favour of the Bentivogli aiding the French arms, it was this time taken, (a) and the Pope returned to Ravenna. Immediately afterwards the papal troops were defeated by Trivulzio, in consequence, as it was said, of the misconduct or treachery of the Pope's nephew, the duke of Urbino, who effectually prevented the exposure which the cardinal of Pavia was about to make of him by poignarding him in the streets of Ravenna, in the midst of his guards. (b)

The Pope was assailed too by the assembly of a general council of the church at Pisa, to which the cardinals of Santa Croce, St. Maloes, Bayeux, and Cosenza repaired: they were afterwards joined by the cardinals San Severino and d'Albret, although the latter, in doing so, was believed to comply with the king's wishes against his own inclination. (c) The ultimate

(a) Chaumont sent to the Duke of Ferrara a fine brazen statue of Julius, the work of Michel Agnolo, which the populace had indignantly thrown down. The duke played off a soldier's jest upon the Pope, by having this statue made into a cannon, which he appropriately called *Giulio*.—Roscoe's Leo X., vol. ii. p. 91.

(b) Lettere di Principi, t. i. p. 9.

(c) Guicciardini, l. x. p. 538.

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object of the convention was to bring the Pope to a reckoning for the scandal of his past conduct, and to restrain his power for the future.

Calls a council of the Lateran.

In his road to Ravenna, Julius learned that this council had published a notice of their sitting, and had summoned him to appear before them on the first of September following. He knew too well the power of such an assembly to be much disturbed at it; but he immediately issued a bull for convening a general council of the church at the Lateran, thus destroying the accusation of his refusal to hold such a council, on which the Pisan convention had been mainly founded. By the same bull he replied with great power and ingenuity to the charges which the hostile cardinals had brought against him. He did more, he perfected a league, which he called the "Holy League," in which he prevailed upon Ferdinand to join, who agreed to furnish him with a large force; and it was also formally acceded to by Henry VIII., who was to attack Guienne, while the Swiss were engaged to fall upon the Milanese. (a)

Replies to the charges against him,

and forms the Holy League.

Gaston de Foix assumes the command of the Italian army.

Louis reinforced his Italian army, and made every preparation for resisting the attack of the League. He appointed Gaston de Foix, gene-

(a) The Swiss engaged in this enterprise marched under the standard which had been borne in the battle of Morat, when they defeated Charles the Bold. *L'Anonimo Pado- vano* says, that their main banner had the following arrogant inscription, "*Domatores Principum, Amatores Justitiæ. Defensores Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ.*"—Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, t. xli. p. 80.

ral of his force, who, although he had not yet attained his twenty-third year, had displayed a skill and prudence which could not be surpassed. The papal forces, accompanied by their Spanish allies, had so good an opinion of their strength that they would not wait until the spring had brought weather more favourable for campaigning, but resolved, in January, 1512, to lay siege to Bologna. The town was ill provided, and it must soon have been taken but for the succour of Gaston, who made a forced march by night with 11,000 foot and 300 lances. He arrived at Bologna in the morning, and on the tenth day of the siege entered the city during a thick fall of snow, and without being seen. If his troops had not been exhausted with their march, and he had then made an attack upon the army of the League, he must have utterly defeated them. The besiegers only learnt that the succour had arrived in time to effect their retreat from so overwhelming a force. (a) Gaston's triumph was disturbed by the intelligence that the city of Brescia had been treacherously given up to the Venetians, and that the garrison there could not hold out much longer. He marched, with such speed as it appears almost impossible to believe, to its relief. He fought two battles, and gained two victories on his route: and, as we are assured by an eye-witness, performed by his cavalry, on his last day's march, fifty Italian miles

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His vic-
tories in
Italy.

(a) Muratori, t. lxi. p. 88. Guicciardini, l. x. p. 573.

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without once drawing bit. (a) He then relieved the garrison ; summoned the city to surrender, and on the refusal of the defenders, commenced an attack, that, for the ferocity with which it was conducted, and the carnage that ensued, was almost unparalleled even in those days. The city was taken, the Venetians cut to pieces, and the wretched inhabitants delivered up to all the horrors of a sack.

The Chevalier Bayard, who had distinguished himself by acts of most heroic valour in the attack, performed here one of those deeds of benevolence and charity which have made his memory immortal, by saving a lady and her daughters from the fury of the soldiers. (b)

1512.
The Battle
of Ravenna.

The king notwithstanding the glory of these exploits, by which the young conqueror had in fifteen days stricken terror into his enemies, and gained for himself the appellation of the Thunder of Italy, saw that the junction of the confederate forces would be too much for him to withstand, and he therefore ordered Gaston to come to an engagement with all possible speed, and while the spell of his good fortune yet held its power. De Foix marched to Ravenna, to which he affected to lay siege, in the belief that this would bring the army of the League within his reach. The event answered his expectations. He was foiled in his attempt upon the

(a) Murat. Ann. d'Italia, t. xli. p. 92, who cites l'Anonimo Padovano.

(b) Appendix, No. I.

fortress ; but the army of the League encamped within three miles of him. The Cardinal de' Medici, (afterwards Leo X.) had, in his quality of the Pope's legate, the supreme direction of the forces ; but the military command was held by Cardona, the Neapolitan viceroy, by Fabrizio Colonna, and by the young marquis of Pescara. They waited under the walls of Faenza to see what course Gaston intended to take, and were not long left in doubt. The French general prepared for battle, and having sent Bayard to reconnoitre he arranged his plan of attack. Cardona, under the advice of Pietro da Navarra, resolved to keep within the intrenchments, but, after a slaughtering cannonade, they were forced by the French. The battle then became general, and was disputed during eight hours with the greatest skill and courage. Cardona, believing the day was lost, fled from the field at an early period of the engagement, and took refuge at Ancona. (a) A great part of the cavalry followed his example, and was cut to pieces and dispersed by Bayard and Louis d'Ars, whom Gaston sent in pursuit of them. The foot still remained firm, and were not shaken until after repeated attacks. By command

(a) “ Le viceroi Raimond de Cardonne, homme qui avec une très-bonne mine, n'avoit ni courage, ni experience, et que le Pape appelloit ordinairement madame de Cardonne, effraïé de cette défaite, prit aussi-tôt la fuite avec ses gendarmes et ne s'arrêta point qu'il n'eût gagné Anconne éloignée de là de près de trente lieues.”—Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 276.

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of their officers a large body of the Spanish infantry had been ordered to lie down on their faces to avoid the shot. This was, however, soon discovered by their vigilant foes, and some guns were brought to bear upon them from an elevation, which, together with the discharge of the French archers, galled them so much that they rose and could not be withheld from rushing into action. The conflict that ensued between the French and Spanish infantry was of the fiercest kind. The archers who were too closely engaged to make use of their peculiar weapons, resorted to the small axes which they had at their belts, and did great execution with them in the *mêlée*.^(a) Pietro da Navarra and several other officers were taken prisoners; an immense number of the allies were slain, but the loss on the part of the French was almost as great.

The death
of Gaston
de Foix.

In an earlier part of the action Gaston had been engaged with a small body of gendarmes against twice as many Spanish pikemen, whom he totally defeated. Two companies of the enemy who had gained some success against the Gascon and Picardy regiments, had drawn off, and, getting into as good order as they could, made the best of their way towards Ravenna, intending to throw themselves into the fortress. The bastard du Tay, who encountered them on the road, drove them back along the side of the canal. Some of the defeated

(a) *Mém. de Bayard*, cap. liv.

Gascons in the meantime had got to the place where the duke de Nemours was, and informed him that the Spaniards had beaten them. By this time the victory was complete; but the duke, believing that the Gascons spoke of the whole body of the infantry, determined to rally them, and for this purpose calling aloud to those who were with him, and followed by fourteen or fifteen gendarmes, rode hastily along the causeway, the canal, the descent to which was extremely steep, being on one side, and on the other side a deep ditch. In this disadvantageous spot it was that his fate led him to encounter the Spaniards whom du Tay had turned. Believing that he was more numerous followed, and that the foot were close at hand, he rode into them, and was immediately surrounded. He was first fired upon, and then piked; every man who was with him was killed or miserably wounded. The duke fought with desperate courage, but against such odds that it was madness to contend for a moment. Lautrec who was with him, and who defended him until he himself fell covered with wounds, called out to the Spaniards to spare him, telling them he was the brother of their queen. They did not or would not hear him, and having dispatched the ill fated duke and his followers, they made good their retreat upon the causeway unperceived by the rest of the army.

By such an accident it was, that in the

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moment of victory, this gallant young warrior fell under the weapons of men who were fleeing from the very sound of his name. Lautrec was found, and although pierced by almost countless wounds, ultimately recovered. When Gaston's body was taken up, it was perceived that from the chin to the forehead, he had fourteen or fifteen wounds, "clear proof that the gentle prince had never turned his back." (a)

Within three months, and before he was three and twenty years of age, he had gained four battles, and renown enough to fill a long life. The fight itself was savage; the cause perhaps unjustifiable on both sides; but the fall of the boy-conqueror in eager pursuit of his own and his nation's glory; smitten down while victory was in his very grasp; so sudden and so melancholy an ending of so brilliant a career, cannot be contemplated without deep sympathy and regret.

His death struck terror and despair into the camp, which, but for that event, would have echoed with the shouts of victory. His corpse was carried by his gentlemen to his lodgings, and the rude soldiers, even in their wildest mood, with the scent of blood still in their nostrils, could not restrain their unaccustomed tears, as they beheld borne past them the lifeless body of the young leader, whose battle-cry had so lately cheered them on to victory. In France the news occasioned still greater dismay. The

(a) *Mém. de Bayard*, c. liv.

advantage which had been gained was forgotten in the loss which accompanied it. A large portion of France's best army lay upon the field; the confidence of the nation had departed; and Louis had too much reason for saying, in the bitterness of his heart, to some one who congratulated him on the victory of Ravenna. "Wish my enemies such victories!"

In Rome too the news of the battle caused deep alarm. The cardinals thought that all Italy must now inevitably become the prey of the French. They urged the Pope to make offers of accommodation, and might perhaps have succeeded in inducing him to a proceeding so contrary to his wishes, but for the opportune arrival at Rome of Giulio de' Medici. He had been in the battle, but had fled with Cardona; he had since had an interview with his cousin, the cardinal de' Medici, who was taken prisoner, and who urged him to hasten to the Pope to represent to him the state of both armies, and the almost irreparable mischiefs which had resulted to the French from their victory. The Pope's spirit resumed its wonted tone on this intelligence. He had already brought over Maximilian, and had proved the weakness of the *conciabulum*, as the council of the opposing cardinals was called. He affected to renew a proposition he had made to Louis for a treaty of peace, but it was merely for the purpose of deluding him, of rousing the queen's scruples, and of concluding with the Swiss a plan for their

Result of
the battle.

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The
French are
driven out
of Italy.

descent into the Milanese, under the pretence of restoring the young Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico Il Moro, to the duchy of Milan. (a)

This plan was effected; the Venetian and papal troops joined the Swiss as soon as they made their appearance. La Palice, who had now the command of the Italian army, disposed his forces to resist the attack. He garrisoned Crema, Brescia, and Bergamo, and threw himself into the fortress of Pontevico, from which he could communicate with the other places with the remainder of his troops, a great part of which were German lanz-knechts. On the day after his arrival, Maximilian's letters, commanding all his subjects to withdraw from the service of France, were brought into the garrison. The lanz-knechts, not sorry for the pretext which was thus afforded them, withdrew at once, and La Palice, thus deserted, was compelled to retreat to Ast, which he did with great difficulty. The young duke Maximilian took quiet possession of Milan, the people of which city drove out the *conciliabulum*, which was thereupon ad-

(a) The Swiss had never forgiven the king for having said when they demanded an increase of their pensions: "*Que pretendent donc ces miserables montagnards? Est-ce qu'ils me regardent comme leur tributaire ou leur caissier?*" The cardinal de Sion, the implacable enemy of France, took care to keep alive the resentment which this rash speech had occasioned. They eagerly complied with the Pope's request; for the first time they began their march without being paid, and sent him three times as many men as he required of them.—Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 285. Anquetil, t. vi. p. 73.

journed to Lyons. The inhabitants of Genoa revolted, and elected for their doge one of the Fregosi, a mortal enemy of France; the French were wholly expelled from Italy, and Julius's boast that he would expel the barbarians, was accomplished to the very letter. A series of battles had been gained, actions of individual heroism had been performed by the French soldiery, which had been in no time surpassed; but the evil genius of France was in the ascendant. The absence of the king, the delays that took place in the transmission of his orders, which were sometimes injudicious, and sometimes contradictory; his unfortunate spirit of economy, which, although in private affairs it is a virtue, is the destruction of great enterprises, and the insubordination of the mercenary part of his army, baffled all his efforts, and those of his gallant subjects. Defeat and humiliation were the only fruits he reaped from the labour of years, and a ruinous expenditure of blood and treasure.

Ferdinand of Spain had entered into a negotiation with Henry VIII., the object of which, as he pretended, was to regain possession of Guienne, to which England still pretended a title. The marquis of Dorset, with a force of 50,000 men, landed in Spain, and marched towards the French confine. Ferdinand, whose design really was upon Navarre, of which Jean d'Albret was sovereign in right of his wife, Catherine de Foix, demanded a passage through the dominions of

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Ferdinand attacks Navarre, with the assistance of the English troops.

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the latter. The king of Navarre, who had been placed under the Pope's interdict, because he refused to declare against the king of France, whose ally he was, replied that he had determined to observe a strict neutrality, and could not therefore comply with this request: whereupon Ferdinand, intending only to make use of the English forces for the purpose of conquering Navarre, represented to the marquis that Jean d'Albret must be subdued before the attempt upon Guienne could be made. The English general, disgusted at the delays which had taken place, and at the dishonesty of Ferdinand, which had now become palpable, and more than all distressed at the ravages which the climate had made in his army, resolved to stay no longer, and therefore returned to England. Ferdinand, however, pursued his attack, accomplished his end of making himself master of Navarre, in spite of its imbecile monarch, and placed garrisons in some of its strongest towns. (a)

Expels
Jean d'Al-
bret.

Louis
sends thi-
ther an
army un-
der the
command
of Francis.

Louis could not patiently see this injustice practised upon a king, the only fault alleged against whom was his adherence to the interests of France. He sent him prompt succours under the joint command of the dukes of Bourbon and Longueville. Some disputes arose between them

(a) Catherine de Foix, who had sense enough to perceive the degradation to which she was subjected, and spirit enough to resent it, said frequently afterwards to her husband, "Alas, Don Juan, if you had been born Catherine, and I Dor Juan, we had yet reigned in Navarre."

on the subject of precedence ; to put an end to which the king sent the young duke of Valois to take the supreme command. Francis was at this time between seventeen and eighteen years of age. The glorious example of Gaston de Foix had inflamed all the warlike youth of France, and was not lost upon the courageous heir to the crown, who eagerly embraced the opportunity which the war of Navarre afforded him of fleshing his maiden sword. As soon as he had reached the camp, he marched the French army to St. Jean Pied de Port, where the duke d'Alba had taken up a position. With not less discretion than bravery, he tried to bring the enemy to an engagement, and sent the Spanish general a defiance. D'Alba, with the characteristic courtesy of the time, thanked him for the honour he had intended him, but declined the offer, on the score of the king, his master's orders. Francis then divided his army into three bodies, one of which, under the nominal command of Jean d'Albret, but which was in fact led by la Palice, entered Navarre ; the duke of Bourbon, with the second division, ravaged Guipuscoa, and took and demolished several fortresses ; the third, commanded by Francis and the duke de Longueville, kept the duke d'Alba in check at St. Jean Pied de Port. The first steps of the king of Navarre were judiciously and successfully made. Several of the important places declared for him ; he marched to Pampe-luna, for the purpose of laying siege to it ; and

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he now had an opportunity, which, if he had made fitting use of, must have ensured him the restoration of his dominions. He might have enclosed the duke d'Alba between his own and the duke de Valois's divisions; he however not only omitted to do so, but he permitted the duke to reach Pampeluna before him, to succour the place, and to regain the open country. After this it was impossible to retrieve the mistake which had been made. The winter had set in rigorously, the army was in want of provisions, and it was impracticable to move the artillery along the mountainous roads. After some unsuccessful efforts they were obliged to decamp, and Francis returned to the capital, having displayed talents and courage which gave promise of his future fame, although the enterprise in which he had been engaged was unavoidably defeated.

Louis effects a reconciliation with the Venetians.

The absolute necessity of making some alliance, which might be serviceable to the French arms in the contests that threatened them on all sides, began to be apparent, and it was debated in council whether an attempt should be made to effect a reconciliation with Maximilian, or with the Venetians. The latter was decided on, and a league defensive and offensive was entered into by France with the state of Venice, for the common object of recovering the possessions they had severally held in Italy. Troops which had so lately met as enemies, marched under the same banners. D'Alviano, who had been a prisoner in France since the battle of

Agnadello, was released, and took the command of the Venetian troops, while that army with which Louis indulged the hope of being yet able to regain the Milanese, was placed under la Tremoille.

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While the negotiation for this league was going on, Julius was seized with a malady which is supposed by some writers to have been brought on by his intemperate passion at hearing that the French had obtained the co-operation of the Venetians. After an illness of a few days, during which he preserved his clear judgment and that commanding spirit which had never brooked contradiction or control, he died on the 21st of February, having first devoutly received the sacraments of the church. He is said in his last moments to have exclaimed, "Out with the French from Italy! Out with Alphonso of Este;" expressions which, considering his temper, and the project that constantly occupied his mind, he might have uttered without being in the slightest degree under the influence of delirium.

1513.
Death of
Julius II.

Great injustice has been done to his character by the writers of that period, and by none more than by his own countrymen. Guicciardini says he cannot be called a great man by any but those who forget that it is the duty of a christian pontiff to add to the glory of the holy see by the example of a pious life, and not to encrease its temporal possessions by war, and

His character.

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bloodshed; (a) and Muratori, following the cry, doubts whether his project of "driving the barbarians out of Italy," was consistent with the office of chief pastor of the Church. But they both forget that as a temporal prince he had also duties to perform; that he was surrounded by encroaching enemies, who respected his troops and his artillery more than his priests and his excommunications; and that all his designs, gigantic and bold as they were, had not the slightest tincture of selfish aggrandisement or personal ambition. (b)

As for his military habits, they were not at that time so unusual as to create any great scandal, even in a Pope; and the more particularly when it is remembered that Julius had from his earliest years shewn an inclination for

(a) L. xi. p. 31.

(b) Guicciardini, in another part of his history, (lib. ix.) speaking of Julius's conduct under reverses, does more justice to him in describing the courage and constancy he displayed. "As Antæus," he says, "is fabled to have sprung up with renewed vigour, as often as the blows of Hercules felled him to the earth, so did adversity operate upon the Pope; who, when he seemed to have been depressed, and most unfortunate, rose again with a spirit more constant and resolute, promising himself more than ever for the future, and having nothing to build his hopes upon, but the resources of his own vigorous mind, and that abiding confidence, which he openly expressed, that, as he had undertaken the war influenced by no private interests of his own, but for the mere and single desire to see Italy freed, he should have the assistance of God in his progress, and therefore could not fail of bringing it ultimately to a prosperous result."

arms, and had displayed considerable talents for the actual conduct of war, in a campaign which he undertook at the command of his uncle, Sixtus IV. Although he possessed no extraordinary erudition himself, he encouraged learned men, patronised the professors of the fine arts with equal judgment and munificence, and gave in no small degree the impulse to that spirit of learning and refinement which made the ensuing years of Leo X.'s pontificate so brilliant. His virtuous and extensive views, the courage and decision of his character, gained for him great admiration in his own time, and, if it be true, as has been alleged, that his restless and enterprising spirit led some bold minds to those enquiries, which ultimately destroyed the notion of the infallibility of Popes, and effected the reformation of religion, these are circumstances which should seem to form no reason for posterity's withholding from his memory that respect to which the bolder and better parts of his character are entitled.

The satisfaction which Louis could not but feel, at being freed from an enemy so powerful and so implacable as Julius, was not diminished by the choice the conclave had made of his successor.^(a) The cardinal de' Medici, who

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Leo X. is
elected
Pope.

(a) The reasons which occasioned his election are variously stated; it is believed by some writers, that his state of health, which at that time was very precarious, induced the cardinals to elect him; others attribute it, as it should seem with greater probability, to the influence which his rank, his character, and the proofs he had manifested of ability to dis-

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assumed the tiara under the title of Leo X., was of high and honourable birth; acknowledged on all hands to possess rare accomplishments, and reputed to be of a gentle and pacific temper. He announced immediately on his ascending the apostolical throne, a desire to restore tranquillity to Europe. Louis offered to submit the arrangement of the terms on which a peace should be established to the decision of Leo, on condition that his holiness would not oppose his designs on Milan; but the coldness and evasiveness of the Pope's reply, convinced Louis that he had adopted the designs of his predecessor, and was, like Julius, bent upon extinguishing the power of France in Italy. He prepared therefore to effect his purpose in his own way; concluded a treaty of peace for one year with Ferdinand, ratified that which he had made with the Venetian state, and endeavoured to induce the Swiss again to engage in his cause. He sent la Tremoille, who had formerly commanded them, to the diet at Lucerne for the purpose of effecting this object, but the general soon discovered that the Pope's influence had preceded him. The Swiss would

charge so important an office during the papacy of Julius II. had given him in the sacred college.—Roscoe, *Leo X.*, vol. ii. p. 174, and the authorities there cited. Mezeray accounts for it with some humour. He says, the cabal of young cardinals having observed that the oldest were sometimes the most passionate, resolved to try whether among the younger ones there might not be found one more temperate, and for this reason they elected Giovanni de' Medici.

hardly listen to his proposals, and would give him no other answer than this ; that they would continue the friends of Louis, provided he would attempt nothing against the Pope, or the new duke of Milan, whom they had taken under their protection. When Louis's determination to enforce his claims became apparent, they did more ; they undertook, at the Pope's solicitation, to oppose his entrance into Italy ; and, contrary to their custom, they took up arms without the immediate promise of pay.

Leo in the meantime had engaged the assistance of other powers to thwart Louis's enterprise. Ferdinand, notwithstanding his recent treaty, was as ready as ever to violate it. Maximilian required little persuasion to join in a war, provided somebody else paid for it ; and Henry VIII. of England, who mistook the vain restlessness of his temper for a thirst of glory, and the selfish suggestions of Wolsey for maxims of sound policy, undertook to invade France, and to pay 100,000 crowns for the maintenance of Maximilian's army. A league was made and signed at Mechlin, (a) on the part of these monarchs and of the Pope, who also employed such power as the church possessed over the minds of men in aid of the temporal efforts of his allies to harass France.

Louis knew the resources of his own country well enough not to be dismayed at these indications of hostility, and had been too often threat-

The war is continued.

The defeat of the French at Novara.

(a) Rym. Fœd., vol. vi. p. i. 41.

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ened to be greatly alarmed at the seemingly formidable alliance which was formed against him. He knew that much would depend upon the promptness with which he struck his first blow, and therefore marched a powerful army into Italy under the command of la Tremoille, with which that general crossed the Alps before the Swiss, who had intended to oppose his passage, were aware of his design. He then relieved Milan, and made himself master of Ast and Alexandria. The Venetians at the same time, attacked and gained Cremona and its dependencies; Genoa was taken by the French fleet; and every thing seemed to promise a conclusion of the war, as favourable to the French arms as the expedition had been rapid. Excepting Como and Novara, none of the Milanese cities remained faithful to the duke. To the latter place he retired under the safeguard of the same Swiss who had sold his father to the French, and who endeavoured by their fidelity to the son, to wipe away the stain which that nefarious transaction had left upon their reputation. La Tremoille arrived before Novara with 6,000 German lanz-knechts, 4,000 French foot, and a few companies of gendarmes, and invested the place, contrary to the advice of Trivulzio, who wished to wait for the coming up of some of the duke of Gueldres' troops, under the command of Tavannes. La Tremoille began the attack, and soon discovered that his precipitancy had led him into an error. He

effected a breach in the walls, but hearing that the Swiss reinforcement was hastening onward, he paused just at the moment when nothing but perseverance could have retrieved his mistake. He withdrew to Vigevano, about two miles distant; the succours entered Novara by night; a council was held, in which the Swiss leader Mottino proposed the bold design of attacking the French in their camp, and persuaded his countrymen to attempt it. The march was commenced soon after midnight. The Swiss knew that the ground which their enemies had taken up, was so marshy that their cavalry could not act. They therefore divided their own force, consisting entirely of foot, into two bodies; one of which was to prevent the approach of the cavalry, and the other was to attack the French artillery; for in that confident spirit which could alone ensure the success of so desperate an undertaking, they had left their own guns behind. By daybreak, they had arranged their order of battle; la Tremoille, who, although he had expected nothing so little as that he should be attacked, and who, therefore, laboured under all the disadvantages of a surprise, prepared gallantly to receive them. His cannon was in front, consisting of two and twenty pieces, and to the German lances was committed the care of protecting them. The first discharge mowed down whole files of the Swiss; but they endured the fire with unexampled bravery, marched up to the very mouths

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of the cannon, and came to an engagement with the lanz-knechts, whom they looked upon as their rivals in that trade of blood which they had so long carried on without competition, and against whom they had consequently an unextinguishable animosity. For two hours the lanz-knechts disputed the ground with admirable firmness, but at length they were overpowered; the Swiss got possession of the guns and turned them with slaughtering effect upon their late owners. The gendarmes in the meantime stood by, wholly unable to take any part in the conflict. (a) Besides the opposition which the second division of the Swiss offered to the assault of the cavalry, there was a wood on one side of them, and on the other a bog, in which the horses sunk at every step up to their knees, and which was cut across by deep trenches. After the artillery was taken, it was in vain to keep up the fight. La Tremoille, who was badly wounded, ordered a retreat, which was effected, but not without considerable loss. The

(a) There was one instance on the contrary, which is at the same time a striking proof of the force of paternal affection. Robert de la Mark, the father of the seigneur de Fleuranges, who commanded the lanz-knechts, and of the Seigneur de Jamets, who was in the same regiment, saw that his sons were no longer up and fighting. Followed by a hundred of his own troop, he leaped the trenches and charged the Swiss so vigorously that he broke them, reached the place where his sons had been engaged, found them both on the ground severely wounded, and carried them safely off. The elder Fleuranges had received forty-six wounds.

cavalry escaped almost unhurt, for the Swiss had no horse to pursue them with; but the infantry were miserably massacred. Of the French it is said that 8,000 fell, and nearly as many of the Swiss, among whom was the leader Mottino, by whom this daring attack had been planned. (a)

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The effect of this defeat was electrical. All the places which the French had taken, immediately opened their gates to the duke of Milan and the Swiss, and again the French forces were wholly driven out of Italy. Public rejoicings were made in Rome, and the confederate powers indulged the belief that the strength of France was so paralysed by this disaster, that the meditated attack of Henry and the emperor could not fail of entire success. (b) Leo X. congratu-

The French again expelled from Italy.

(a) Guicciardini, l. ix.

(b) The sensation which the news of this victory occasioned in Rome, may be gathered from a letter by cardinal Bambridge, archbishop of York, then resident there as the English minister, to Henry VIII., who was about to invade France. After giving the particulars of the battle, he says—“The Popis holines atte the hering hereof haith more declaride hymself against the Franshmen than he haith doon heretofore, as it is here uppynyonyde, by reason that this night he haith shotte in the castill Angill a solempne peall of gones in tryumphe of the premisses. The Popis saide holines and all od'r grett men here doith now looke daylie to here that your grace shall utterlie extermynate the Fransh king, *which I shall daylie besiche the moste blysside trynytie to bring to such pass as your grace woll desire* with prousp'ous p'servacione of youre moste highe and noble astate. From Rome in verray grett haste as apperith the 10th day of June, att thre of the cloke astire that the sonne

CHAP.
II.

lated the Swiss upon their victory, in terms which were calculated to increase the arrogance of those hardy bands, who, putting aside their unquestionable courage, seem to have acquired the praises and benedictions of his holiness with as small an outlay of virtue as can be imagined.

Louis after this made an indirect attempt to propitiate the Pope by breaking up the *concilium*, and acknowledging the validity of the council of the Lateran; but Leo, although he received again to his favour the rebellious cardinals, did not relax in his hostility towards Louis, and endeavoured to detach from his alliance the only power that adhered to him, the state of Venice, by reconciling its difference with the emperor; a project which the fidelity or the policy of the Venetians rendered futile.

1513.
Henry
VIII. in-
vades
Italy.

Henry VIII. raised an army of 25,000 men, which he sent to Calais in May, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Talbot, and the transport of his troops being completed, he sailed in person at the end of June to Calais, and proceeded thence to the frontier town of Terouenne, before which he sate down with his army. The needy Maximilian, who in his love or want of money often forgot his dignity, joined the English forces in the character of a volunteer and a subaltern.

was set, 1513." MSS. Cotton. Vitell. B. 2. p. 42. Fiddes, Coll. 8.

This pious priest was afterwards poisoned at Rome by one of his domestics.

He brought with him 8,000 horse, and a body of Swiss infantry, which were taken under the command and into the pay of Henry. Maximilian himself wore the English cognizance on his arms, and received a hundred crowns a day for his entertainment.

Louis collected an army to oppose the English invasion, which he marched to the frontier, and, having ordered the governors of Picardy and Normandy to strengthen all the fortresses in their provinces, he repaired in person to the seat of war, with the wise determination of making the campaign a defensive one on his part, and of avoiding, at all hazards, an engagement with foes to whom delay must be inevitable defeat.

The siege of Terouenne had lasted a month, and the garrison was beginning to feel all the inconveniences of a want of provision and ammunition. It had become absolutely necessary to convey to it some relief, which could only be effected by breaking through the besieging force; and this delicate and difficult task was committed to Imbaud de Fonterailles, who commanded a body of Albanian cavalry, called Stradiots, a description of troops recently brought into use, whose valour and efficiency had been experienced by the Venetians, for whom they had fought in the recent wars, and who, by reason of the lightness of their equipments, and the rapidity of their movements, were admirably adapted for effecting this enterprise. At the head of eight

The siege
of Terou-
enne.

CHAP.
II.

hundred of these Stradiots, each of whom carried before him a bag of powder and half a salted pig, Fonterailles advanced. He charged so vigorously that he broke through the English force which guarded the approach to that part of the wall of Terouenne at which he aimed, and, riding directly up to the fosse, each man threw down the provision he had brought, leaving the besieged to get them in. The Stradiots then, making face against the enemy, returned in good order, and effected a junction with the main body of the gendarmerie, having executed their undertaking with perfect success and with extraordinary dexterity. But this was the limit of their triumph. The English, under Lord Talbot, accompanied by a small body of cavalry, had marched onwards for the purpose of encountering the French gendarmes. This movement was perceived, and the French, whose orders were not to come to an engagement, if by any means it might be avoided, retired in good order, and so rapidly that they were soon out of sight of the English, and dreamt of nothing less than of being pursued by infantry. They had reached the heights of Guinegate, the day was oppressively hot, the men-at-arms, tired with their hasty retreat, dismounted, and had taken off their helmets and sate down to refresh themselves, when the alarm of the enemy's approach was given. The English knights, who had rode on before the foot, had come on the French wholly unawares, and seeing their dis-

The battle
of the
Spurs.

order, with more rashness than anything but the success of their undertaking could have excused, they made a fierce charge. The duke de Longueville and la Palice were the first to make head against them, but were immediately taken, although the latter afterwards escaped. The others mounted, and retreated as well as they could; but the English, flushed with their triumph, pursued them so hotly that the retreat soon became a flight, which was kept up with such speed that the French could not make an attempt at rallying until they reached Blangi, where the main body of their army was quartered. Several prisoners were taken, amongst whom was the chevalier Bayard, (*a*) but very few men

(*a*) Daniel, p. 318.

When Bayard saw that he was left nearly alone, and that it was in vain to continue the fight, and impossible to avoid being taken, he looked round him, and seeing an English man-at-arms who, breathless with his exertions, had taken off his arms, and was sitting under a tree, he rode up to him, and, leaping from his horse, placed his sword against his throat, bidding him yield. The Englishman, thus surprised, could do no otherwise than comply. As soon as he had formally surrendered himself, Bayard said, "Know, Sir Knight, that I am the chevalier Bayard, and I yield myself your prisoner: there is my sword; but you shall give it me again, if need be, in our way to the camp." The Englishman then led him to the emperor and the king of England, who received him in a manner worthy of his fame. After a few days, Bayard told the knight that he was tired of staying, and that he meant to depart. "But your ransom," said the Englishman. "Why," replied Bayard, "we will set my ransom against your's; for, you know, you were first my prisoner." The matter was referred to the king and the

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II.

were killed; and the ridiculous nature of the surprise and its result were so forcibly felt, that the French ingeniously blunted the sarcasms to which they were exposed by anticipating them, and by calling this fight the Battle of the Spurs. (a) If the combined forces had followed up the advantage which they had thus accidentally gained, they might have forced the French army to an engagement, which, considering the great disparity of forces, could hardly have terminated any otherwise than to the signal advantage of the confederates. The favourable moment was however lost; and Louis availed himself of the supineness or want of skill of his enemies to remove his army from Blangi.

Francis takes the command of the army.

Some dissensions, which had unfortunately taken place between François de Piennes, governor of Picardy, and the duke de Longueville, had given the king great disquiet, and were believed to have contributed, in a degree, to the unlucky day of the Spurs. In order to put a stop to the disorder which had arisen in the army from these quarrels, Louis, who was more than satisfied with the skill and conduct which Francis had displayed in the expedition to Namur, who decided in favour of Bayard, only restraining him from joining the French camp for six weeks.—*Mém. de Bayard.*

(a) The chevalier made the best excuse that could be offered for his countrymen's defeat, when, in reply to the bantering of the king of England, he said, the orders of the gendarmes were, to run no risk, but to retreat, even at a gallop, if it should become necessary.—*Mém. de Bayard.*

varre, committed to him the command of the army and the care of the campaign, upon that plan of defensive operation which he had determined to follow, and the policy of which had already been signally apparent. Francis acted up to the king's wishes with admirable prudence, and with a forbearance which, considering his youth and the fire of his temperament, was hardly to be looked for. He removed the army to Encre on the Somme, a post which effectually protected the whole of the frontier, and was well adapted for an attack, if the circumstances of the war should make that expedient. The army being thus secured, the possession of Terouenne became a matter of little importance, and its defenders were directed to capitulate for its surrender. The eagerness of the besiegers enabled them to effect this upon very favourable terms; and Henry, acting under the insidious advice of the emperor, who had been often kept in check by that fortress, demolished the place which it had cost him so much money and pains to win.

While Louis was thus securing his frontier from an enemy who had not shewn himself very formidable, he was assailed by another of a very different kind. The Swiss, whose arrogance was inflated by their victory at Novara, and in whose minds the affront given them by Louis still rankled, determined to carry the war into Burgundy; and actually marched to Dijon, to which they laid siege. The place was very weak, and

The Swiss
penetrate
France,
and besiege
Dijon.

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II.

la Tremoille, who defended it, being wholly unable to meet them in the field, adopted the discreet course of endeavouring to pacify them. He had made some Swiss officers prisoners in a sally, to whom he urged the old friendship which had long subsisted between their nation and France, the value in which the king held their services, and the desire Louis had to renew his alliance with them, which the general was empowered to effect, in stead of meeting them as enemies. He accompanied his persuasions with some well-timed praises and presents, and sent his captives home to their own camp safe and without ransom. His generosity produced exactly the effect he had calculated upon. A safe conduct was dispatched to him, and he was invited to visit the Swiss leaders. An interview took place; he found among his enemies men whom he had often led to victory in the Italian wars, and made so good a use of his knowledge of their characters that they concluded a treaty with him, by which, on the present payment of 400,000 crowns, which was raised by himself and his officers, and the promise of all arrears of the pensions they claimed to be due to them, leaving other questions to be settled at future conferences, they consented to raise the siege, and marched back to their own country. The king affected to disapprove of la Tremoille's treaty, and refused to ratify it; but he knew, and all the world perceived, that France was protected

Tremoille
pacifies
them.

from a most heavy calamity by the general's prudent and successful negociation. (a)

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II.

The allies of France had, about the same time, experienced their share of disasters. The Venetians encountered a signal defeat by the Spaniards, and the unfortunate king of Scotland had lost his life and his crown in the slaughtering fight of Flodden Field. Louis, however, had no leisure to indulge in sympathy for his friends. The presence of an invading army on the frontiers of Picardy engaged all his anxiety; for if Henry had determined to press his attack, that which Louis was most desirous of avoiding, a general engagement, must have been fought. Maximilian's dishonest counsels, however, again prevailed with the English monarch, and averted the threatened danger from France. The emperor wanted to gain Tournay, which lay very conveniently for the dominions of his grandson Charles; and he therefore persuaded the king not to attempt Picardy, but to besiege Tournay, which Henry took after three days, and entered with an ostentation that made the utter imbecility of his conduct in the war he had undertaken most notorious and ridiculous. His childish vanity, which had not yet matured into the disgusting cruelty that marked his after-life, and makes his name one of the most odious in English history, being satisfied, he returned to his own dominions, and relieved France from a foe whose power, if it had been well directed,

The battle of Flodden Field is fought.

Henry takes Tournay, and retires from France.

(a) Du Bellay, l. i.

CHAP.

II.

1514.
Death of
the Queen
of France.

would probably have realized the worst fears which its first appearance had occasioned.

In the death of his wife, Anne of Brittany, which happened on the 9th of January, (a) Louis had to encounter an affliction much greater than could have been occasioned by the whole world in arms against him. His affection for her had been evinced in the most unquestionable manner. He had endured much for her before his marriage, and ever since their union she had, notwithstanding her virtues and amiable temper, been the cause of much disquiet to him. Her piety, which was remarkable, was deeply tinctured with the superstitions of the times, and the intrigues of the emissaries of the Pope induced her to think that her husband had placed his soul in jeopardy by engaging in a war with the head of the church. Her remonstrances on this subject often exhausted his temper; her obstinacy respecting her hereditary domain of Brittany traversed his plans; and her quarrels with the countess d'Angoulême had given rise to factions and intrigues which the upright spirit of Louis detested; but his respect for her good qualities, and his ardent love for her, surmounted all the annoyances she had occasioned him. At her death, his grief for some time wholly overpowered him, and he shut himself up during eight days that he might indulge it without restraint. He interdicted all public entertainments in the

(a) Le P. Daniel, t. vii.

court, and dressed himself in black, a sort of mourning then very unusual, and contrary to court etiquette, although it had been worn by the queen for her former husband.

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The death of the queen removed the greatest obstacle to Francis's advancement. Louis kept the promise he had made to the states at Tours, and the young duke, then in the twentieth year of his age, was married on the 10th of May at St. Germain en Laye, to the princess Claude, the king's eldest daughter, and in her mother's right, the heiress of Brittany. She was, like her mother, in a slight degree lame; her person was agreeable, though not handsome. In the qualities of her mind she resembled her father, and was virtuous, intelligent, prudent, gentle, and pious; qualities, which, although they failed to fix the constancy of Francis, ensured his regard and respect for her, and enabled her to endure without repining, those infidelities which, to a less chastened spirit, would have been a source of constant and bitter grief.

1514.
Marriage
of Francis
with the
princess
Claude.

At about the same time Louis was induced to think of a second marriage, a step to which probably nothing but his country's good would at his age have urged him. The duke de Longueville, who had been taken prisoner on the day of the Spurs, had discovered, during his stay in England, that the late expedition had not quite satisfied the court there. The conviction that he had been made the dupe of the

Proposals
for a mar-
riage be-
tween
Louis and
the prin-
cess Mary
of Eng-
land.

CHAP.
II.

crafty Maximilian, had, though somewhat tardily, forced itself on the king's mind, and a desire to be revenged on his perfidious ally succeeded to the thirst for distinction in arms which he had persuaded himself he felt. Henry had a sister, the princess Mary, now of a marriageable age, whose beauty was the theme of universal admiration, and whom the king was particularly desirous to bestow out of his kingdom. She had been promised to Charles, Maximilian's grandson, but the treaty had been evaded by the council of Flanders, to Henry's great discontent. (a) The duke de Longueville knew that Louis had sworn to testify his affection for his late queen by an eternal widowhood, and that his age (he was now fifty-two years old) and his infirmities, the consequence of an irregular youth, and of the labours of his maturer years, were little favourable to matrimony; but with that facility which politicians possess in forgetting or under-valuing all that lies in the way of their desigus, he did not hesitate to propose this union to Louis as the certain means of converting an enemy, who might be dangerous, into an ally, whose support would be extremely serviceable. His reasons prevailed; he received authority to propose the marriage to Henry, who accepted it with eagerness, (b) and it was settled that the princess should receive a dowry of 100,000 crowns, that a treaty of amity during the lives of the two kings

Terms of
the treaty.

(a) Hall, 567.

(b) Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 143.

should be entered into, and that Henry should receive an annuity of 100,000 crowns by way of recompense for the claims on France, which he thereby ceded.

Mary had fixed her affections upon Charles Brandon, (a) duke of Suffolk, the king's foster brother, and the favourite companion of his youth. The duke's personal accomplishments, and his gallant bearing had made him universally beloved and admired in the English court, while the king's partiality for him excused, and encouraged the daring hopes he had entertained. The proposals of the French monarch however dashed down his projects, and the

(a) Mary's letter to Louis XII. is preserved in the Cottonian library,—(Vitell. c. xi. f. 156.) and has been given by Mr. Ellis in the first series of his Original Letters, vol. i. p. 112. The formal expressions of her letter are a singular mockery of what must have been the feelings of her heart at the time she was thus forced to forego her strong love for Brandon. The following is the letter :

“ Mons^r bien humblement à vostre bonne grace je me recommande. Mons^r jay par Mons^r levesque de Lencoln receu les tres affectueuses lettres quil vous à pleu naguaires mescripre, qui mont este a tresgrant joye et confort : vous assurant Mons^r quil ny a riens que tant je desire que de vous veoir. Et le roy, Mons^r et frere, fait toute extreme diligence pour mon alee de la mer qui au plaisir de Dieu sera briesve. Vous suppliant Mons^r me vouloir cependant pour ma tres singuliere consolacion souuent faire scavoir de voz nouvelles ensemble voz bons et agreeables plaisirs pour vous y obeir et complaire, aidant nostre Createur, qui vous doiot Mons^r bonne vis et longuement bien prosperer.

“ De la main de vre' bien humble compaigne.

“ MARIE.”

CHAP.
II.

1514.

princess was doomed to experience the common fate of persons of her rank, whose passions and interests are often unrelentingly and unnaturally sacrificed to state policy, and the schemes of sordid ambition. The affiancing was performed by proxy in August, and in October she was conveyed by her brother and his queen to the sea-shore, whence she embarked for Calais. She was received upon her landing by the duke de Vendosme, who soon afterwards conducted her to Abbeville, which place she reached on the 8th of the same month. Louis met her in a sort of incognito, at a short distance from this place, and after an interview with her, in which he found that even the florid descriptions he had heard of her beauty were below the reality, he withdrew, and the princess continued her progress to the city, at the gates of which she was met by the duke de Valois, who welcomed her according to the forms prescribed by state etiquette; and her reception was greeted with processions and pageants as magnificent as became the occasion. Dressed in a gorgeous habit, and mounted on a horse "trapped in goldsmith's work very richly," she made her entrance, followed by thirty-six ladies of her retinue, of whom the ill-fated Anne Boleyn, then a child, was one. The archers of her guard, and the waggons loaded with her appointments, closed the train. On the following day, the festival of St. Denis, she was publicly married to Louis in the church

Marriage
and coronation
of the princess
Mary

of Abbeville. On the 5th of November following she was crowned in the cathedral of St. Denis, and on the 6th she entered Paris as the queen of France. (*a*)

CHAP.
II.

Francis had good reason to be displeased at an event which was so pregnant with danger to his expectations. If the king should have a son, his chance of ascending the throne became extremely remote, and that event seemed by no means to be improbable. Whatever might be the extent of his disappointment he suffered no part of it to appear by any external token. He assisted at the celebration of the queen's coronation, and took an active part in the jousts and sports which were held in honour of her entry, maintaining the fame of the French chivalry against the English knights, the chief leader of whom was the duke of Suffolk, and who acquitted themselves with great credit. (*b*) The beauty and amiable manners of the young queen engaged all hearts in her favour. The vindictive countess of Angoulême forgot the fierceness of her temper, and Francis himself was believed to have been so much fascinated by the charms of Mary that his friends thought it necessary to caution him against indulging

Entertainments in honour of her arrival.

(*a*) Hall, f. 640. The pageant which was prepared for this occasion is in the Cotton MSS.—Vide Appendix, No. II.

(*b*) Hall gives a minute account of these tournaments, which is curious and characteristic, although the old chronicler's national partiality displays itself very unequivocally. Appendix, No. III.

CHAP.
II.

a passion, which, besides its criminality, might have been destructive of his interests. (a)

Louis falls
mortally
ill.

The exertions which Louis had made in his journey to receive his queen, and, as it was supposed, his efforts to affect a youthfulness that had long departed from him, brought on an access of gout to which he had been frequently subject. He was so enfeebled by illness as to be obliged to lie on a couch when he witnessed the tournays; and his indisposition soon increased to such a degree as to confine him to his bed. Some alarming symptoms made their appearance, but still his physicians did not believe that his illness was mortal. Louis, who knew that his end was approaching, sent for the duke of Valois, and embracing him tenderly, said, "I am dying; I leave our subjects to your care." Francis burst into tears, but besought him to be of good cheer, and assured him that the medical attendants had yet hopes. Louis knew that they were mistaken, and after a few hours of acute suffering, expired in the arms of Francis, who had never left his bed-side; and who proved by the tender assiduity with which he soothed his last moments that he was worthy of the affection the king had always displayed towards him.

1515.
Death of
Louis.

His character.

It was on the 1st of January, (1515) when she had been married only eighty-two days, that the youthful queen was left a widow, and that France lost one of her best kings. Excepting

(a) Henault, Abr. Chron., t. i. p. 366.

his behaviour to his first wife, Jeanne de France, which admits of some extenuation, and one instance of cruelty at Peschiera, for which he had probably little to answer in his own person, Louis's character stands without any very grave reproach. He has been accused of avarice; but it has been by those who cannot distinguish between that vice and a disinclination to expense which is the result of sentiment and reflection, and which in him arose chiefly from a desire to spare his subjects. (a) He was just and merciful in the administration of his royal power. (b) The care of his people was the object of his constant solicitude, and their love for him living, and their grief at his death, proved their sense of his goodness. (c) His wars were the least

(a) He had perceived Francis's disposition to expense, and his conviction of the inconvenience and distress which prodigality occasions, induced him to say of him, with prophetic anxiety, "Ah, nous travaillons en vain, ce gros garçon gatera tout."

(b) The persons who had been the instruments of his persecution when duke of Orleans, saw his accession to the throne with dismay. Some base courtiers reminded him of the opportunity which he had now of making his enemies feel his resentment, to whom he made the dignified reply, which is so well known, "It would be unworthy of the king of France to revenge the injuries of the duke of Orleans." La Tremoille, who had made him captive at St. Aubin du Cromier, was distinguished by his favour, and raised to that rank which his military talents well qualified him to fill.

(c) The public criers, whose office it was to announce the deaths of eminent persons, paraded the streets of Paris, exclaiming, with undissembled grief, "The good king Louis, the father of his people, is dead!"

CHAP.
II.

excusable of his weaknesses, but in engaging in them, he believed, however erroneously, that his honour and the safety, as well as the interests of the nation, were concerned; and his resentment against the Swiss, the yielding to which occasioned him considerable disquiet, was the consequence of their insolence and perfidy.

He was of gentle temper; naturally inclined to peace, but brave as the bravest in battle; and if he did little to increase the splendour of his reign by parade and ostentation, he entitled himself to the more honourable praise of having set an example of dignified morality and exalted virtue, which made his court one of the purest in the whole world.

CHAP. III.

Francis's accession and coronation—His first exercise of power—the queen dowager marries the duke of Suffolk, and returns to England—Francis determines to attempt to regain the Milanese—State of the European powers—Italy—Germany—Spain—England—The Swiss—Concludes treaties with England—And the archduke of Austria—And Venice—And makes proposals to the Swiss—Who refuse to accept them—Sends Budée to the Pope—Who hesitates—Genoa gained over to France—Francis raises money by the sale of offices—Completes his army—And moves it to Lyons—Difficulties of effecting a passage to Italy—They are overcome—The French army penetrate the Alps—Descend into Italy—And surprise Prospero Colonna in Villa Franca—The Swiss defend the Milanese—The king proposes a treaty, which is frustrated by the practices of the cardinal de Sion—The Swiss attack the French—Battle of Marignan—And its results—Francis lays siege to Milan, which is surrendered—He enters it in triumph—Is master of the Milanese—And takes up his quarters at Vigevano.

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CHAPTER III.

ON the 25th of January, 1515, Francis the First received, in the cathedral of Rheims, the crown of his ancestors, from the hands of Robert de Lenoncourt, archbishop of Paris. (*a*) His affability and courage, and the promise he had already given of talents for governing, engaged all hearts in his favour; and, while the warlike nobility of France knew that they had in him a leader who would direct their martial ardour to the path in which glory was to be won, the other conditions of the people believed that he would be able to secure the tranquillity and prosperity of the nation by a wise and discreet government at home, and by keeping in awe all his foreign enemies.

1515.
Coronation
of Francis
the First.

Francis performed, among the first acts of his reign, the grateful office of distinguishing and recompensing those to whose affection and fidelity he was most indebted.

His first
acts of
power.

His mother, the countess d'Angoulême, was created a duchess; his old preceptor, Gouffier Boisy, was made his prime minister; and Florimond Robertet, who had long been practically acquainted with the details of that important

He creates
his mother
a duchess,
and raises
his friends
to offices of
dignity.

(*a*) Mémoires de du Bellay, l. i.

CHAP.
III.

office, was appointed his coadjutor. The duke de Bourbon was invested with the dignity of constable of France. La Palice, who relinquished his office of grand master of the king's household to Gouffier Boisy, received a maréchal's baton in exchange; and Antoine Duprat, the president of the parliament of Paris, who had long devoted his rare talents and profound knowledge to the service of the countess d'Angoulême and her party, was rewarded with the seals and the office of chancellor. Anne de Montmorency and Philip Chabot de Brion, who had been educated with him, experienced a share of his favour, and entered upon that glorious career which they accomplished to the nation's and their own honour. (a)

The queen dowager marries the duke of Suffolk.

While the public rejoicings for the accession of the new monarch echoed throughout France, there was one heart which feelings of anxious and mournful passion forbade to join in the general contentment. This was the young dowager—not three months a bride, and yet a widow. That she could grieve deeply for Louis, was, under the circumstances of their marriage, wholly impossible, even if her affections had been free; and her conduct proves how little she was likely to bewail the loss of that splendid station to which she had been so transiently elevated. But she saw that her free condition would expose her to new solicitations, and that she had laid down her recent chains only for a

(a) Mém. de du Bellay, l. i.

moment, and perhaps to put on other and heavier ones in their stead. The strength of her affection for Suffolk prompted her to a step full of peril. Without waiting for her brother's consent, and determined to brave all the consequences of his anger, rather than endure the horrors of another marriage in which her heart had no share, she offered Suffolk, who was still in France, her hand, and told him at the same time, that if he did not accept it in four days, he should never have it. Suffolk had had a recent conversation with Francis, who knew of their mutual passion, in which the duke had promised the king, (*a*) that he would take no steps in his suit to the queen without the consent of her brother; but the frank offer of Mary, and the determination she expressed of entering some religious house on the continent, and never again returning to England, if he should reject it, induced him to violate his promise at the risk of his head. They were married in private; and, although Francis, when the circumstance was communicated to him, reproached Suffolk, and pointed out to him the peril in which he stood, he good naturedly wrote to Henry VIII., using his intercession with him for the pardon of the couple whom the strength of their affection had laid under his displeasure. Mary wrote to her brother on the same subject, and avowed the persuasions she had used to induce Suffolk to

(*a*) *Mém. de Fleuranges.*

CHAP.
III.

marry her, taking upon herself all the blame that had been incurred, at the same time that she deprecated his resentment in terms of affectionate respect. (*a*) Henry, who had not yet become familiar with the taste of blood, and who saw that he could only undo what had been done, by the execution of Suffolk, suffered the affection he felt for his sister and his friend to prevail, and he pardoned them. They were publicly married at Calais, on their way to England; and Mary, who had left the land of her birth the mournful bride of the French king, returned the contented duchess of Suffolk, more happy in the affection of the husband of her heart, than she could have been made by all the empty grandeur of royalty.

Francis
resolves to
attack the
Milanese.

With the sceptre of France, the young monarch had assumed all those dangerous views respecting the Milanese, which had rendered Louis's latter years so full of disquiet. Neither repeated disappointments nor exhausting defeats had been able to make him relinquish his claims; nor could the example of his ill fortune deter his successor from engaging in the same inauspicious enterprise. The glory of the French arms, too, had seemed, of late, to wane, and the bitterest disgrace of all, that

(*a*) The letters of Francis and of Mary are in the Cottonian Library, (Caligula, D. vi.) but were so much damaged in the fire at Westminster, that it is difficult, in some instances, to gather the sense of them. A letter which Mary wrote to her brother, on her return, has been printed by Mr. Ellis, in his First Series, vol. i. p. 123.

of Navarra, still rankled in the hearts of the nation's bravest champions. The necessity of some noble exploit in arms which should retrieve their lost honour, was thus added to the other inducements which stimulated Francis to war; he determined to attempt the reconquest of the Milanese, and began earnestly and rapidly to make his preparations for that enterprise, without, however, avowing their object. In order to understand more clearly the events to which this war gave rise, and which lent a colour to the whole course of Francis's life, it will be necessary to take a cursory view of the great states of Europe, and of the relation in which they severally stood towards France at the young king's accession to the throne.

State of the
European
powers.

Italy consisted of five distinct and independent powers, without reckoning the smaller feudal states which were connected with them more or less intimately. These were Milan, Florence, Rome, Venice, and Naples.

Italy.

Maximilian Sforza, who had been restored to the duchy of Milan by the Swiss, was naturally interested in denying the validity of Francis's claims, and in resisting any attempt which he might make to enforce them. Florence and Rome, although in the form of their government, they differed essentially from each other, were bound to adopt one and the same line of policy, whatever it might be, by means of the party of the Medici, which ruled in the republic, and was at the head of the church; and this policy

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was decidedly hostile to France. Leo justly feared the existence of the French power in Italy. Its influence had already detached from the holy see some of the barons who held its fiefs, of which Parma and Piacenza were the most important, and upon the restoration of which he constantly insisted. He feared too, and not without reason, that if the French should once gain the Milanese, the temptation to renew their claims on Naples, would be too strong to be resisted; and that a war must ensue, of which Italy would be the theatre, while the states of the church must be disturbed by the frequent passage of troops through them. Venice, who was slowly recovering the consequences of the defeat her armies had sustained under Louis XII., had learnt to value the friendship, and to dread the resentment of France, while her own interests on the main land, which were not her most important ones, could not suffer, and were even likely to be improved by the execution of Francis's schemes, even if they had been as extensive as the fears of the pontiff suggested. Naples was in the peaceable possession of Ferdinand, and sufficiently remote from Milan to be safe from any immediate attack, even if that state should fall into the hands of the French; but Ferdinand, who knew upon how questionable a ground his title to the kingdom stood, could not see without apprehension any attempt made upon the Milanese.

Germany.

Germany was in a state of great political tranquillity, and too flourishing, and too much divi-

ded to devise or execute any attempt against her neighbours. The barons and ecclesiastical potentates had carved to themselves from time to time, a variety of independent states in the empire, which they maintained by their own strength; while the free towns, enriched by commerce and by the spread of knowledge, were able to defend themselves whenever occasion required, as well against the emperor as against the encroaching nobles. Maximilian enjoyed the empty title and the formal privileges of emperor, with such small revenues as the states chose to pay, and the power of exacting from them just so much obedience as they thought fit to yield to him; but without a single tower, or town, or foot of land, to which, as emperor, he could lay claim. The truly imperial power lay in the Germanic body, who, in the assembly of the states, which were called diets, passed the laws of the land, and when a vacancy happened in the supreme authority, supplied it by their free election. Maximilian, who now held that authority, was almost universally despised throughout Europe. His character presented an extraordinary compound of talent and weakness. Without principle enough to persist in any honest design, he wanted courage to undertake bold bad ones; and his infirmity of purpose and constant poverty (*a*) made him

(*a*) The Abbé du Bos says, “ he was so notorious for his love and his want of money, that no one ever thought of soliciting him to sign his name without promising at the same

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the dupe and instrument of whoever tried to cajole or to bribe him into their schemes. He engaged in wars only to be bought off, and his want of dignity gave an equally ridiculous air to his successes and his defeats.

Spain.

Spain was under the quiet dominion of Ferdinand, who had materially strengthened the power of the crown, and enlarged its dominions without however encroaching much upon the liberties of his people. There were many reasons for his apprehending an attack from France, but none which should induce him to commence a war. His title to Naples was debateable at the least: he had made himself master of Navarre, and dispossessed an ally of France by open force; and Roussillon and Cerdagne were thought to have been acquired by fraudulent means. The death of his son-in-law, Philip, had restored to him the dominion over Castile, but Charles, the elder son of that prince, and the heir of his rights, was arriving at an age when his pretensions might be enforced, and this young prince, who had possessions also in the Low Countries, where he had been educated, had many forcible reasons for maintaining amity with so powerful and so near a neighbour as France.

England.

England was in a state of perfect repose. The result of the battle of Flodden Field had silenced her nearest and most troublesome enemy; and

time a sum of money as soon as he had finished. His poverty procured him the nickname of *Massimiliano poco danari*.—Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray.

Henry's recent experience of the perfidy of Ferdinand and of Maximilian, had disinclined him from any offensive foreign leagues, while the deference with which he had been treated by France in the late negotiations, had engaged his goodwill by flattering his selfish vanity.

The Swiss cantons still preserved a threatening aspect towards France. From the time that Louis XI. had joined his arms with theirs in support of their common cause against Charles the Bold, they had seemed to form a part of the militia of France. Charles VIII. had employed considerable bodies of them. Louis XII., on his accession, continued them in his service, and they had on all occasions behaved so well as to gain the reputation of the most steady and able infantry in Europe. The poverty of their country, and its redundant population, had driven them to find in warfare a lucrative trade, and the French levies furnished employment for several considerable bodies of their men. When Louis XII. quarrelled with them, he raised a large force of infantry in Germany, known by the name of lanz-knechts, who, like the Swiss, fought on foot; and who, although they were at first inferior to them, were soon brought by discipline and practice to equal the Swiss in courage and ability, while they had none of that insolence and caprice which made the latter so often dangerous. This attempt to dispense with their services, was an affront which the proud mountaineers could not forgive. They had twice helped

The Swiss
Cantons.

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Louis XII. to conquer Italy, and as often, when the honour served, they had driven him from the fruits of his victory. They had taken their revenge at Novara and at Dijon; their contempt and anger were still fresh against France by reason of Louis's refusal to perform the treaty which la Tremoille had made in his name, and the intrigues and exhortations of the cardinal de Sion, that implacable and restless enemy of France, kept alive their animosity, and sometimes inflamed it to a dangerous pitch. The Grison cantons alone were not hostile to France.

The other European powers were too remote or too feeble to exercise any influence upon the policy of the French government. Of those which have been enumerated, Venice was her staunch adherent; England's amity, or, at the worst, her neutrality, might be insured; Germany's opposition might be safely defied; Spain's interest, whatever Ferdinand's inclination might be, would keep her at peace; and the young ruler of the Low Countries had nothing to hope, but much to fear, from hostility with Francis. The Pope and the Swiss therefore were the only formidable foes with whom he had to deal. The former might be propitiated, by permitting him to effect his plans for the aggrandizement of his family, by taking possession of Parma and Piacenza, and by abandoning the rebellious feudatories to such mercy as he might choose to shew them; or, the effects of his enmity might be counteracted by assisting those

feudatories, and thwarting his designs. Francis, who properly appreciated the value of the Swiss as auxiliaries, was nevertheless not a jot intimidated by their angry menaces; and although he resolved upon making one effort to regain their alliance, he was determined to purchase it by no unworthy compliance with their haughty humour. Having in view his Milanese expedition, his first object was to cement his friendly relations with such of the several powers as were well disposed towards him, and to guard against the possible hostility of those whom he doubted. The embassies which he received from the various states, to compliment him on his accession, afforded him an opportunity of accomplishing this design, which he effected, as far as it was practicable, with consummate prudence.

He proposed to the English envoys, that the treaty of peace which had been entered into between Henry and the late king, during their lives, should be renewed on the same footing; and that Scotland, which France was bound to assist, if need were, should be included. To this Henry was well disposed to accede, but as the seigneur d'Aubigny, the cousin of the late king of Scotland, had been invited thither to act as regent, the English king proposed the insertion of an article in the treaty, by which Francis should undertake that d'Aubigny, who was his subject, and who was known to be inimical to the interests of England, should forego his intention of visiting Scotland. Francis replied

Francis concludes a treaty with England.

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with great candour, that he had pledged his promise to the Scots that d'Aubigny should go to Scotland, and that by the terms of that promise he was bound ; but he offered to answer in his own person for the integrity of d'Aubigny's conduct, and that he should attempt nothing to the prejudice of England ; and undertook that if the Seigneur did not succeed in composing the animosities which prevailed there, and which were the sole objects of his journey, he should be recalled in two or three months. This explanation satisfied Henry, and in April, 1515, the proposed treaty was concluded. (*a*)

Treats
with the
archduke
Charles.

The mission which the archduke Charles had despatched for the purpose of doing homage for the counties of Artois and Flanders, which he held of the French crown, afforded Francis an opportunity of preventing that young prince's joining his grandfather in projects which might have proved troublesome to France. Count Henry of Nassau, with a splendid train of nobles and prelates, came to Paris for the ostensible purpose of performing the homage ; but before he quitted it he had concluded a treaty, by which the archduke (who in turn had been promised, or had promised himself, to nearly all the princesses in Europe) engaged to marry the lady Renée, the king's sister-in-law, with whom he was to receive as a dowry six hundred thousand crowns, and the duchy of Berri. This part of the treaty there was probably no intention on

(*a*) Fiddes, l. ii. c. 2.

either side of performing ; but the real motive which induced the ministers of the archduke to advise the friendly alliance with France, arose from their apprehensions that it was Ferdinand's intention to transmit the crown of Spain to his other grandson, Ferdinand, who had been educated under his own eye in Spain, while Charles, who had lived for the greater part in Germany or the Low Countries, was personally almost a stranger to him. In order to provide for this event, which they much feared, they therefore stipulated, that Francis and Charles should mutually aid each other "in all their just designs ;" by which ambiguous expression it was understood, on Charles's part, that Francis would assist him in any steps which might become necessary to gain the Spanish crown, if his succession after Ferdinand's death should be disputed ; while Francis sought to provide against any interference by Charles in opposition to his proposed enterprise. The restitution of Navarre also formed an article of the treaty ; and Charles engaged to do all that at present he could do in furtherance of that object, by joining Francis in an embassy to Ferdinand, urging him to do justice to the unfortunate Jean d'Albret, and significantly requesting that he would acquaint them with his determination in the space of a year. (a) A secret article of the treaty stipulated, that the count of Nassau should receive in marriage Claude de Chalons, sister of the prince of Orange, who had been educated with

(a) Du Bellay, l. 1. Belcar., l. xv.

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the queen of France. (a) By the performance of this article, which was the only one that Charles was really desirous to carry into immediate effect, the principality of Orange passed to the house of Nassau; and Charles, by his own act, and as if under the influence of destiny, laid the foundation of that power, which was, at a later period, the instrument of crushing the odious domination of his descendants, and of establishing the freedom of the Low Countries.

Francis makes proposals for a treaty to Ferdinand and to Maximilian,

It was rather with a view of extorting from them an avowal of their designs, than in the hope of engaging their cordial amity, that Francis made an offer of entering into a treaty with Ferdinand and with Maximilian. Ferdinand, finding himself obliged to reply, expressed his willingness to conclude a treaty, on a condition which he knew would not be complied with—that Francis should undertake to renounce all attempts upon the Milanese. Francis, as the wily Spaniard expected, declined giving any such pledge; and Ferdinand, fearing the enmity of the Pope, and of the Swiss, more than he prized the amity of the French king, declined his offer, upon the ground, that if the Milanese should be attacked he was bound to defend it. He influenced Maximilian to return a similar answer; and Francis, thus relieved from any doubt respecting those of his neighbours whose pretended friendship was more dangerous than their open enmity, renewed and

which, being rejected, he confirms his alliance with the Venetians.

(a) Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 344.

confirmed the last treaty which had been made with the Venetians. CHAP.
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While these negotiations were pending, Francis had continued diligently, but secretly, to strengthen the forces which his expedition would require. His artillery was sent gradually from various parts of the kingdom towards Lyons; he had raised in Germany, by the means of Robert de la Mark, the lord of Sedan, a band of ten thousand lanz-knechts; the duke of Gueldres had furnished him with six thousand foot; and Pietro da Navarra, who had been driven by the ingratitude of Ferdinand into the service of the French, had levied for him ten thousand more in Gascony and Languedoc. To conceal as much as possible the real object of this armament, Francis sent the seigneur de Jamets, one of the sons of Robert de la Marck, as his envoy to the diet of the thirteen Cantons, for the purpose of accommodating with them the differences which had arisen respecting the fulfilment of the treaty of Dijon, on which they grounded all their complaints. (a) Their animosity against France, and an overweening notion of their importance, which their late successes had generated, carried them now even beyond their usual insolence. They refused the envoy admission, and threatened that, unless the treaty of Dijon was performed to the letter, they would immediately attack the provinces of Burgundy and Dauphiny. This absurd violence favoured

Francis prepares for war.

Rupture with the Swiss Cantons.

(a) Guicciardini, l. xii.

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Francis's design, and relieved him from the necessity of further concealment respecting his armament, which had begun to excite observation. His domestic troops, and the foreign levies he had raised, were immediately put under arms, and part of them ordered to march towards Burgundy, for the ostensible purpose of defending that province; while the greater part of the force was moved towards Lyons, with the avowed object of chastising the Swiss, by carrying the war into their country.

The Pope, and the Italian states who were in his holiness's interest, observed these preparations without alarm. They would not believe but that Francis was too young in his government to venture upon any enterprise which could affect them; nor could the admonitions of the more wary Ferdinand convince them of their error. A league had been secretly formed between the king of Spain and the emperor, the Swiss and the duke of Milan, for the defence of Italy. The Pope hesitated, although earnestly requested to join it; and, under the specious pretext that his holy office required him to promote universal peace, he sought to evade all participation in war, in order to devote himself to the accomplishment of the plans he had formed for increasing the wealth and power of his house, and which consisted mainly in securing for his nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici, the supreme rule in Florence, and for his brother, Giulio, a principality, composed of the states which Julius II.

The Pope
refuses to
join the
league for
the defence
of Italy.

had wrested from the Milanese, and from the duke of Ferrara.

Francis, who, although he did not fear the hostility of the Pope, thought it wise to endeavour to gain his friendship, sent an embassy to solicit him to enter into a treaty. In his choice of Guillaume Budée, one of the most learned men of which France, or even the whole civilised world could boast, to execute this delicate commission, he proved his own good taste, and flattered that of Leo. Budée applied himself with great ability to the accomplishment of his errand; he offered, on the part of the king, to assist the pontiff in effecting the marriage which was then proposed between the Pope's brother, Giulio, and Margaret of Savoy, the aunt of Francis, by which alliance Leo thought he should best strengthen his family interests. The Pope who, learned and amiable as he was, possessed little decision of character, and no small portion of that spirit of cunning intrigue which then universally distinguished the statesmen of Italy, could not bring himself to choose between accepting Francis's offers, and joining the league against him. While he was thus deliberating and actuated on opposite sides, by his interest, which the offers of France decidedly favoured, and by his inclinations, which were opposed to those offers, he continued to baffle and amuse the simple minded Budée by never-ending equivocations, unmeaning objections, and frivolous demands. Budée, as soon as

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Francis
sends Bu-
dée as am-
bassador to
Rome.

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he discovered the Pope's want of sincerity, wrote to Francis, begging to be released from a commission for which he felt his talents were not adapted. His request might have been complied with, but that an intrigue was then carrying on against the papal interest, the discovery of which was not yet ripe, and which required that a minister should remain at the court of the Vatican to avert Leo's suspicions.

Genoa is
gained to
France.

Genoa, which France had lost after the battle of Novara, was so situated as to command the passage by sea into the Milanese, and the possession of it was of the utmost importance to Francis's design. After the expulsion of the French, it had reverted to its old form of government, and Octavio Fregosa, the devoted adherent of the house of Medici, and the intimate friend of Giulio, the Pope's brother, had been by their interest elected doge of the republic. Fregosa had manifested his gratitude by intercepting the passage of some cardinals of a party opposed to that of the Medici, and whose votes might have turned the scale, when they were proceeding by sea to the conclave in which Leo was elected; and this interchange of services appeared to have so firmly cemented the friendship between Fregosa and the Medici, that nothing could sever their interests. The constable de Bourbon, who was well acquainted with Fregosa, undertook, however, to bring him over to the side of Francis. He sent a faithful emissary, who represented

to him, as the truth was, that he stood in a state of great insecurity and even peril; that the popular tumults which were constantly happening in the city, and which had often placed his life in jeopardy, might one day prove fatal to him; that the duke of Milan claimed the sovereignty of Genoa, and that his adherents, the Swiss, would, at his bidding, gladly attack so rich a prey; while, to protect himself against these imminent hazards, he had no other ally than the house of Medici, whose power to assist him was not very great, at the most, and could in no case be relied on for longer than the life of the Pope. The constable's envoy then solicited him to give up the city to Francis, upon terms which would at once increase his power and his security. To induce Fregosa to make a choice which his interest obviously prompted, the constable commissioned his agent to offer him the friendship and support of the French king; that he should be established in the rule of Genoa, not as doge, but as the king's governor; that he should receive a considerable pension, and have the command of a troop of gendarmes which the king would send into the place; that he should be admitted into the order of St. Michael, and, as his brother, who was bishop of Salerno, ran some risk of losing the temporal possessions belonging to that see, when the Spanish king, who had given it to him, should learn Octavian's defection, it was stipulated that he

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should receive an equivalent promotion in the Gallican church. To all these was added a promise which would tend more than any thing to make the proposed step agreeable to the Genoese, and consequently safe to Fregosa, that the ancient privileges of the city, which Louis had abrogated, should be restored. Fregosa could not resist offers so tempting ; his friendships and his loyalty to the Medici were forgotten ; he gave up Genoa to France upon the terms stipulated, and even excused himself to the Pope on the principles of his own policy. (a)

Francis avows his determination of invading the Milanese.

This point being gained, concealment was no longer necessary. The whole world saw, and Francis himself did not disavow, that it was at the Milanese he aimed. His loudest enemies, the Swiss, gave up their threatened invasion of his dominions, and hurried to oppose the passage of his army across the Alps. The emperor had some few troops already in Italy, which had joined the Spanish army, still commanded by Cardona, but he contributed no new forces. The Venetians, headed by d'Alviano, although they had recently sustained some reverses, were still strong and active enough to furnish full employment for the Spanish general. It was upon the Pope and the Swiss alone therefore that the task of defending Italy rested. His holiness, who had not a spark of the fire which burned in Julius, still acted cautiously ; and, notwithstanding the loss of Genoa, and that the French army was in full march upon Italy,

(a) Belcar., l. xv. Guicciardini, l. xii.

he hesitated to avow the enmity which he felt against France. His troops were assembled, but he announced publicly, that the sole use he meant to make of their services, was for the protection of Parma. To the Swiss, however, he secretly promised that his forces should join them, and, as earnest of his intention to perform this promise, he dispatched an army to Piacenza, of which his nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici, had the chief command, while that of the cavalry was committed to Prospero Colonna. The Swiss began to cross the Alps so confident of victory, that they had, in anticipation, divided among themselves and their allies, the French possessions in Italy; (*a*) and, by way of commencement, they ravaged in their march the territory of the duke of Savoy, who was well disposed towards France, and who, if he had before hesitated, would, by this proceeding, have been driven to espouse that side of the quarrel.

The necessity of raising money for the purpose of this expedition, gave rise to the pernicious practice of selling judicial offices, which Duprat, one of those unprincipled advocates of expediency, who are the disgrace of courts and the torment of nations, advised the king to adopt. A new chamber of parliament, consisting of twenty councillors, was created, and all the places in it sold; and a similar measure was applied to the increase of the other courts throughout the kingdom. The parliament of Paris at first refused to register the king's edict for

Raises money by the sale of judicial offices.

(*a*) Guicciardini, l. xii.

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this purpose; and although they afterwards submitted, they did so with great reluctance, while the injustice and impropriety of the proceedings diminished their confidence in the monarch, and excited, respecting Duprat, that distrust which his subsequent conduct increased to detestation. (*a*)

Completes
his army,
and repairs
to Lyons.

Francis having completed his levies by means of the money so unjustifiably raised, and finding himself at the head of the finest army that France had yet sent to the field, repaired to Lyons, where he nominated his mother the regent of France, during his absence, and arranged the order in which his forces were to march. His army consisted of two thousand five hundred men at arms, which force, fully equipped, amounted to between fourteen and fifteen thousand horse. (*b*) Besides

(*a*) Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 348.

(*b*) The compagnies d'ordonnance, which were the only regular cavalry, consisted each of 100 men at arms, or lances. Attendant upon these were five persons, three archers, an esquire, or coutellier, so called from a knife or bayonet which he wore, and a page or valet; all of them were mounted: so that 1,500 men at arms, properly equipped, amounted always to 9,000 horse. But, in addition to these companies, there was besides a large body of volunteer adventurers, equipped and attended in like manner, who marched with them and thus not unfrequently raised the actual number of a company of 100 to 1,200. The gendarmes and volunteers were persons of family; the latter never received pay, but after a certain period of service were often entered as gendarmes. Their attendants formed a kind of light cavalry, which, although it could not be opposed to the heavy armed horse, was eminently useful in skirmishes, escorts, retreats, and pursuits.—Le P. Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Française.

this, he had of mounted troops the gentlemen of his body guard, the officers of the household, and their several followers, with a considerable number of volunteers, who joined the army at their own charges. His infantry was composed of two-and-twenty thousand German lanz-knechts, eight thousand French pikes, and six thousand Basques and Gascons, with three thousand pioneers, and a numerous train of artillery. To the constable Bourbon the van-guard was commanded, and under him served his brother Francis, newly made duke of Chatelleraut, la Palice, Trivulzio, the prince de Talmont, Bonivet, Imbercourt, Teligni, and a multitude of other distinguished persons. Navarra, with his Gascons and Basques, and the pioneers, whose services turned out to be among the most valuable, were attached to this division of the army. The king himself commanded the "battle," the dukes of Lorraine and Vendome, the seigneur d'Aubigny, (a) the bastard of Savoy, d'Orval, la

(a) D'Aubigny, who is called by some of our historians, Albany, was of the Scottish family of Stuart, a subject of France by birth, and commanded the company of Scottish gendarmes, the creation of which is thus stated in a manuscript in the Harleian Collection, (No. 4614) entitled "Plainte des Gardes Escossais au Roi, ou est l'origine de l'Alliance de leur Nation avec la France." "Charles Septieme, recteur de toutes les compagnies d'ordonnance en France, erigea aussy la compagnie de gendarmes Escossais des reliques des Escossais deffaits à Vernoecil en Perche. La composa de cent gendarmes et deux cens archers, et leur attribua la première place parmi la gendarmerie Françoise, et donna la charge d'icelle à Robert de Stuart, sieur

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Tremoille, Lautrec, who had also been made a marshal, Bayard, the duke of Gueldres, who had the chief command of the German foot, and Claude de Guise, the duke of Lorraine's brother, were with him. The rear-guard was commanded by the duke d'Alençon.

The diffi-
culty of pe-
netrating
into Italy.

To move this army into Italy was the great difficulty. A safe but circuitous route presented itself, by which one part of the army might penetrate to Savona, and the other might march, by the county of Tende, towards Montferrat; but the delay which would ensue rendered this plan ineligible. It was now the month of August, and unless the Milanese should be entered before the autumn had expired, all operations would be useless; because the rains would then have set in. The only

d'Aubigny au quel succeda en la mesme charge son fils Bernard, et à luy son fils Robert." The last mentioned personage is the leader mentioned in the text. The estimation in which they were held, may be conceived from the enumeration of their duties and privileges which is contained in the same manuscript:—"A scavoir, la garde des clefs au logis du roy au soir, la garde du cœur de l'église, la garde des basteaux quand le roy passe des rivières, l'honneur de porter la crespine de soye blanche à leurs armes, qui est la couleur couronnable en France, les clefs de toutes les villes, où le roi fait son entrée, données à leur capitaine, en quartier ou hors de quartier; le privilège qu'il a hors de quartier aux cérémonies, comme aux sacres, mariages, et funeraillies des roys, baptesme, et mariage de leurs enfans, de se mettre en charge la robe du sacre, qui luy appartient, et que cette compagne par la mort ou changement de leur capitaine ne change jamais de rang comme font les autres trois."

other ways which seemed practicable, were by Mont Cenis and Mont Genièvre; but the Swiss had occupied those passes, and were determined to defend them to the uttermost. They might be forced, but at such hazard and under such disadvantages as must destroy a great part of the army; so that if they should be attempted, Francis must engage in a disadvantageous conflict before he reached the country in which his main battle was to be fought, and would enter upon it with a weakened and diminished force. A part of the troops had been dispatched by sea to Genoa, under the command of Aimar de Prie, the grand-master of the cross-bowmen; and although they might, upon their landing, have made a powerful diversion by harassing the Swiss in the rear, while the main body of the army attempted the passage, yet Genoa was not implicitly to be relied on, and the time which must elapse before the bowmen could, under any circumstances, be brought into the field, would be almost as ruinous as a defeat. While the council was deliberating upon these difficulties and on the means of obviating them, fortune interposed to relieve them from their embarrassment. A peasant of Piedmont, who had passed his life among the mountains, had formed an acquaintance with some soldiers of the army in the course of a traffic which he carried on by supplying them with game and other provisions. He knew every part of the Alps in that neighbourhood, and, it having occurred

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A passage
is disco-
vered.

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to him that a passage might be effected by a route, which was not generally believed to exist, and against which the Swiss had not guarded, he communicated his notion to the comte de Morette, whose vassal he was. His suggestion was at first treated with contempt, but the pertinacity with which he adhered to it induced the comte de Morette to make a personal inspection of the mountain track which the peasant had pointed out. He was then convinced of its practicability, and, with the permission of the duke of Savoy, to whom he communicated the project, he repaired to the king at Lyons. The council considered it, and dispatched Lautrec and Navarra, who, the one by his boldness and love of enterprise, and the other by his skill in mechanics, were admirably adapted for such an undertaking, to examine and report upon the possibility of effecting a passage. The marshals, la Palice and Trivulzio, accompanied them, and took with them the comte de Morette and the peasant with whom the project had originated. The difficulties were ascertained, and formidable as they were, they might, it was thought, yet be surmounted by perseverance and exertion; and upon the report which Lautrec and his companions made, it was determined that the passage should be at least attempted. As the Swiss believed they had defended the only practicable passes, no obstacles but those which nature had formed, were to be anticipated; and

in order to conceal the design of the French leaders, and to maintain the Swiss in the belief they had formed, some detachments were sent to Mont Cenis and Mont Genièvre for the purpose of alarming them, and of preventing their attention from being drawn to the particular place at which the army was about to attempt a passage.

All being ready, the van-guard forded the Durance, and, followed by the rest of the army, entered the mountains on the side of Guillestre; and now it was, that the value of the services of the pioneers and of Navarra's mechanical skill, was duly appreciated. The first steps were difficult; but those which succeeded were infinitely more so. The pioneers smoothed the roads, and filled up the ravines with the trees they cut down, and the rocks they levelled. Bridges were thrown across some of the torrents, and the artillery was drawn by the soldiers over places which were inaccessible to beasts of burthen.

The French army is marched across the Alps.

An enterprise of greater boldness in its conception, and of greater labour and peril in its execution, can scarcely be imagined. The route over which an army, with all the burthens and appointments of war was now to march, had never before been traversed by any human foot but that of the mountain hunter, whom necessity had first urged, and whom long practice had made expert, in treading its dangerous course. The romantic courage of the

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French leaders, however, did not stay to calculate the difficulties which, to more deliberate minds, would have seemed insurmountable. Their spirit was communicated to the common soldiers, who engaged in their unaccustomed labour with admirable alacrity, while the officers on the other hand toiled with axe and mattock as assiduously as if such work had been a part of their ordinary duties. The new and savage scenery by which they were surrounded, increased the horrors of their enterprise. The rushing cataracts, the falling avalanches, the hoarse roar of the mountain winds, which, pent within the rocky walls, might have been imagined by minds open to superstitious influences, to utter forebodings and maledictions—added to the tumult which the noise of the workmen and the cries of the beasts occasioned. Appalling accidents, by which men and cattle were lost, either from the precariousness of the mountain passes, or from the falling of rocks, were of frequent occurrence. Against all these, however, the perseverance and ingenuity of the army held out; until, when they had nearly concluded their labours, they arrived at a rock that completely shut out their further passage. It was too lofty to scale, and so hard that all the tools with which the work had hitherto been performed, broke against it. An universal belief that this obstacle could not be overcome and a feeling of bitter mortification at finding that all their pains were thus thrown away,

began to pervade the army. The elastic and fertile mind of Pietro da Navarra, however, kept up against the disappointment. He examined the mountain barrier, and found that a part of the rock was of sand-stone, and might be pierced. Hope was revived by this discovery; the soldiers renewed their labour with alacrity, and a week's further exertions were rewarded by their effecting a clear passage into the territories of the Marquis of Saluzzo. The army and the artillery descended in perfect safety, and were joined by the detachment which la Palice had led by Briançon and Sestrieres, for the purpose of protecting the rest of the force in the event of the Swiss having intelligence of their design and attempting an attack from the heights. The precautions taken by the allies had been utterly frustrated; the French army was in Italy before it was believed, by their enemies, that they had concluded the plan of their march; and fortune, who, when she is in the giving vein, commonly bestows her favours with both hands, had prepared for them another triumph. (*a*)

Prospero Colonna, an excellent and experienced officer, commanded the Pope's cavalry, and had taken up his quarters at Villa Franca, where he awaited the approach of the French in the certainty of victory. The spirit of Spanish arrogance, which had infested all Italy, and was at once ridiculed and adopted by that volatile people, had so far tainted this general, that he boasted

Colonna is surprised.

(*a*) Belcar., l. xv. Guicciard., l. xii. P. Jov., l. xv.

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he had the French army already in his power, and had actually appropriated to himself the county of Carmagnole out of the dominions of the duke of Savoy, whom he and the Swiss intended to dispossess for having favoured the undertaking of Francis. Almost as soon as the French army was in the plain, they were informed by the Piedmontese, who kept the secret of their arrival with admirable fidelity, where Colonna was quartered, and that, in the full confidence of security, he kept a negligent guard. This was enough to rouse the adventurous spirit of the French commanders. A short consultation between la Palice, d'Aubigny, Bayard, d'Imbercourt, and Montmorenci, sufficed to form the resolution of endeavouring to surprise him. With a body of men at arms, selected for the purpose, they set out, led by the comte de Morette and his vassal, who pointed out to them a fordable passage of the river which led to a short and easy road. At noon they arrived within sight of Villa Franca. So profound was the Italian leader's notion of his perfect safety, that the posts were absolutely deserted, the gates remained open, and the French gendarmes were under the walls before they were recognised. A hasty attempt was then made to close the gates, and to defend the place, but two of d'Imbercourt's troop rode their horses against them, and one having succeeded in inserting his lance between the gates, maintained his place until others coming up, the barriers were

forced. (a) The French poured into the town; there was no time for resistance, and before Colonna could well rise from the dinner table, he was d'Aubigny's prisoner, and his followers were in precisely the situation with which he had too lightly threatened his captors.

At about the same time, intelligence was received that the troops which had been sent, under the command of Aymar de Prie, to Genoa, had safely arrived at that place; where they had been well received, and joined by 4,000 Genoese, with whose assistance they had surprised Alexandria and Tortona, and made themselves masters of the whole of the Milanese on that side of the Po.

In proportion as the French army was encouraged by these fortunate events, their enemies were embarrassed, and the union between the contracting parties to the league was enfeebled. The Pope, who was inclined, as well by his fears as by his love of peace, to put an end to the war, entered, by the means of the duke of Savoy,

The Swiss undertake the defence of the Milanese.

(a) The manner of Colonna's surprise and capture, as well as the circumstances which led to them, are differently related. Le Ferron says, that some of the French soldiers, in the disguise of traders, with pack-horses, asked for admission at the gates of Villa Franca. and having entered, they watched their opportunity, when, after massacring the sentinels, they opened the gates to their own comrades. The author of the Life of Bayard says, that Colonna knew the chevalier and one troop had passed the mountains; but not fearing an attack from so inconsiderable a force, he would not condescend to guard against it. Colonna himself, in his apology, does not allude to either of these circumstances.

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into a negotiation with Francis, the object of which was to temporize until he should see more clearly what conduct it was expedient to pursue. The king of Spain would not, and Maximilian could not, contribute the sums they had engaged to furnish for the common charges of the war; so that, if these powers had alone been interested, the campaign would have been ended almost as soon as it had begun. The animosity of the Swiss, however, was increased to its utmost height and bitterness by the successes of the French. All the reasons which had induced them to engage in the war, seemed insignificant, compared with their desire to crush the French army. The passage of the Alps had thrown some disgrace upon the troops of the Cantons, who had undertaken to guard them; and the French infantry were the more odious to the mountaineers, from the utter scorn in which they held them as soldiers. The accession of the German lanz-knechts, and of the Black Bands, whom they looked on as their rivals, added hatred to contempt, and they thirsted for an opportunity to vindicate their own superiority, and to teach the French the value of the allies they had lost. They had, however, too much discretion to forego any of the advantages they possessed. They withdrew from the passes which they had flattered themselves they were effectually guarding, and retired to the Milanese, plundering wherever a booty presented itself, regardless whether they were received as friends or as foes. A contention

arose, in the course of their march, between two of their leaders, which at first appeared likely to put a stop to their further proceeding. The cardinal de Sion, who had a commission signed by the Pope, and the emperor, as general of the Swiss troops, marched with the army. He had conceived a notion that the passage of the French had been effected by means of the treachery of Albert de la Pierre, who commanded the troops raised in the canton of Berne; and, listening only to the dictates of his ungovernable temper, he expressed this opinion one day at table. La Pierre, who was a rude soldier, and who had been taught by the cardinal's own demeanour, to consider him as little entitled to reverence, replied to his unjust accusation, by grossly giving him the lie; upon which the cardinal, in exercise of his authority as general, put him under arrest; this, however, was the extent of his power, for at the end of twenty-four hours he was compelled to release him. On the following day la Pierre had his revenge. The troops were drawn out for a review; and, as the cardinal passed the companies commanded by la Pierre, he demanded the arrears of pay which were then due to his troop. The cardinal, who had no money, and who foresaw the consequences of a refusal, endeavoured by civil speeches to reconcile himself with la Pierre; but the angry soldier was not to be pacified. In proportion as the cardinal lowered his tone, la Pierre became vehement. The soldiers, whom he had purposely placed

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among
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within hearing, began to join in the conversation. The cardinal fearing, not without reason, that he was in danger, retreated with some of his friends to Pignerol; and la Pierre, who had determined not to serve under him, and who yet would not join the French, ultimately quitted the camp with his troops, and retired to Berne. (a)

Bayard requests permission to attack them, which Francis refuses.

This quarrel reached the ears of the vigilant Bayard, who saw that it afforded a favourable opportunity for striking a decisive blow. He wrote to the king to beg his permission to attack the Swiss with the vanguard, which had passed, and which were enough for the purpose; Francis, however, who was then at Lyons, either unwilling that an engagement should take place without his being present, or perhaps with a more prudent caution apprehending the consequences of a defeat, enjoined his commander not to give battle until the whole of the army should have passed the Alps. He hastened his own journey; made a rapid progress to Piedmont, where he was joyfully and honourably received by his uncle, the duke of Savoy. Several places yielded without an offer of defence; and, among others, Novara, the scene of a defeat which almost every soldier in the French army felt as a personal disgrace, surrendered the keys of her citadel. Here he was joined by the duke of Gueldres, who had staid

(a) Belcar., l. xv. n. 12. P. Jov., l. xv. Pet. de Angl., Epist. 550.

at Lyons with a body of 6,000 German veterans of approved courage and high reputation, and who, in their sovereign's long wars against the emperor, having always fought under black standards, had acquired the name of the Black Bands. (*a*)

Francis then formed his camp at Marignan, and with such a force as he now possessed, if he had come to a determination of fighting immediately, he would, in all probability, have gained every thing he proposed to himself; but, at the instigation of the duke of Savoy, he resolved to endeavour to effect a treaty with the Swiss. The duke believed that any thing could be done with them by means of money; and the king, who was always desirous to spare his troops, (*b*) sent the duke's brother, Renée de Savoy, commonly called the Bastard, (*c*) who had great influence with them, to ascertain what terms they would be likely to accept. The Swiss, who had at this time determined to retire from Piedmont to the Milanese, were expecting a reinforcement of

Francis
encamps at
Marignan.

Proposes
terms to
the Swiss.

(*a*) Bellay, l. i.

(*b*) In one of his letters to Lautrec, at this period, he said, "Un roi ne doit point hasarder le sang de ses sujets, ni verser le sang de ses ennemis, lorsqu'il peut racheter l'un et l'autre avec de l'argent."—Mém. de du Bellay, l. i.

(*c*) He was the son of the late duke Philip and of Bona da Romagnano, a Piedmontese lady. By means of the duchess of Angoulême, his natural sister, he attained a high rank in France, and from him is derived the family of Villars.—Gaillard, l. i. p. 147.

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25,000 men, which Rost, one of their most celebrated leaders, was bringing up. They knew that if Francis should prevent the expected troops from joining them, they must fall into his power; and they had too much reason to fear that he could effect this if he had been so disposed. They therefore gladly received the proposals for a treaty which they saw would give them time. Their demands were exorbitant. They required payment of the sum promised them by the treaty of Dijon, and 300,000 crowns besides, for the expense they had been put to in defending the Milanese; and they insisted that such of their troops as were then in Italy, and those who were on their march thither, should receive three months' pay. For the duke of Milan they demanded that the king would marry him to a princess of the royal blood, confer upon him the duchy of Nemours, a company of gendarmes, and a pension of 1,000 livres. These complied with, and the accustomed stipend paid as heretofore, they were ready to enter into a treaty of peace during the life of the king, and for ten years afterwards, and to give up all that they possessed in the Milanese.

The Cardinal de Sion influences the Swiss to reject the offers.

No proof more convincing that Francis was really desirous to save the effusion of blood, could be given than his entertaining, and even agreeing to these terms. While the negociation was pending he forbade any attack to be made upon the Swiss, the consequence of which for-

bearance was, that Rost and his troops effected a junction with their army. The money was raised chiefly by the generous sacrifices of the principal French leaders, who even sold their plate and other valuables to procure it, and on the 8th of September all was ready. The Bastard of Savoy and Lautrec had orders to convoy the money to Buffalora, where the Swiss were to come to receive it. The cardinal de Sion, whose hatred money could not appease, had always opposed the treaty, and had believed from the nature of the demands, that they could never be acceded to. When, however, he saw it upon the point of completion, he worked so upon the minds of Rost and his troops who had just come up, thirsting for plunder, and murmuring loudly at finding their expectations were to be disappointed, that they positively refused their assent. With the casuistry of a churchman of that day, he represented to the others that the treaty they had made could not be binding upon them, as well because it had been entered into without the participation of so large a part of the army as Rost's detachment, as because he, their general, had opposed, and would never sanction it. There was another point, which he kept back until his other reasons had made them waver, which he knew would confirm them in breaking the treaty. He told them that an ambuscade, adroitly executed, would make the treasure, which was to be taken to Buffalora, theirs before it reached its destination; that an attack immediately afterwards

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upon the French must succeed, for that the leaders and the gendarmes, in full confidence that the treaty would be effectuated, thought of nothing less than of war, and were preparing for the tournaments and other sports with which they meant to celebrate their entry into Milan. In short, that if they would now strike, they might ensure to themselves the vengeance for which they thirsted, the acquisition of an immense booty, and the triumph of making prisoners, the richest king in Europe, with the flower of his court. The greedy mercenaries listened with delight. The cardinal's persuasions were seconded too powerfully by their rapacious desires; the treacherous plan was adopted, and, but for an accident, would have been carried into effect. Lautrec had a spy (*a*) in the Swiss camp, who served him so well as to acquaint him with the whole design. The money was immediately lodged in a place of security, the march of the convoy suspended, and Lautrec hastened to the king with the information he had obtained.

Their treachery being thus detected, the king was convinced that the hope of being able to treat with the Swiss was a vain one, and from this moment he disposed himself for an engagement. To prevent them from joining the armies of the Pope and of the Spanish viceroy, was a measure of the first importance, and fortune favoured

(*a*) Lautrec's letter on this subject to the duchess d'Angoulême, apud Varillas, t. i. p. 49.

Francis in this attempt, which he would hardly have been otherwise able to effect. The Spaniards had taken Cinthio da Tivoli, a messenger of the Pope, and pretending either to mistake or disbelieve his character, they read the dispatches of which he was the bearer, by which they not only learnt that Leo was treating with Francis without their knowledge, but that Lorenzo de' Medici, his general, had also written a complimentary letter to Francis. A mutual distrust was the consequence of this discovery. Cardona, the Spanish general, would not pass the Po, unless Lorenzo de' Medici accompanied him, and the repeated delays which took place in consequence not only prevented their joining the Swiss, but gave d'Alviano an opportunity of reaching Lodi with a body of cavalry.

Francis was now as desirous to come to an engagement as he had before been willing to avoid it. The cardinal of Sion too, who thought that it was better to let the Swiss encounter their enemies unassisted, urged them to the attack. (a) He assembled the army, and placing himself on an elevation in the midst of them, he commenced

The Cardinal urges the Swiss to attack the French army.

(a) In the cardinal's dispatches to the Pope, (Varillas, t. i. p. 51,) giving an account of the battle of Marignan, he explains the reasons upon which this opinion was founded. If the Swiss conquered, they would have no one to share either the spoil or the glory with them; if they were vanquished, he knew that their countrymen would never lay down their arms until they had wiped off the disgrace of a defeat; and in that event they would be engaged in a lasting war against France, an object which he had chiefly at heart.

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one of those inflammatory harangues, the effect of which he had so often proved. (a) He reminded the soldiery that they had undertaken the sacred and honourable task of restoring the young, and, but for them, helpless duke of Milan to his hereditary dominions, and that they were bound to go through with their undertaking though all the powers of Christendom were banded against them. Then turning his discourse dexterously to a point on which he knew they were most assailable, he bade them remember that the only enemies they were called upon to oppose were those Frenchmen for whom they had fought, and who were indebted to them for their proudest successes; those Frenchmen who, having since become their enemies, they had intimidated and overcome; who had sued for their forbearance, and who had promised but had not paid the price at which it had been rated; who had broken their treaties, violated their faith, disappointed the hopes of their tried allies, and who had now passed upon them the last insult by bringing against them the lanz-knechts and the black bands, who arrogated for themselves the reputation which belonged only to the Swiss, and which had been won in many an arduous battle before the infantry of Germany was heard

(a) The marquis de Fleuranges describes this scene with a quaint humour: "Le cardinal de Sion fit sonner la tambourin et assembler tous les Suisses. Il fit là faire un rond, et lui au milieu en une chaise, comme un renard qui prêche les poules."

of. He stated and answered all the arguments that could be brought against the attack to which he would persuade them, with that rapid vehemence which has the weight of conviction upon minds already predisposed. He admitted that the French army was numerous: but the Helvetic bands were not accustomed to be daunted by odds, even though consisting of enemies more formidable than the French and their new allies; that they had cavalry, the charge of which was said to be overwhelming; but besides the impenetrable rampart which the long Swiss pike had proved against such cavalry, they might, by a surprise, be rendered useless; for the artillery, he bade them think of the cannon of Novara, which they had seized and turned against their owners; and he asked why a similar attempt made by the same men, and in the same spirit, should not have the same result? As to waiting for a junction with their allies, he dismissed the proposition as derogatory to the tried valour of the Swiss, who had no aid at Novara but their own hearts and weapons. Defeat he assured them was impossible, and the sweets of victory ought to be enjoyed by them without corrivals, as they might be won without assistance. He soothed their piety by representing to them that the approbation of the holy church sanctified their endeavours; and roused their thirst for plunder by describing, in exaggerated terms, the wealth of the French leaders, the splendour of their arms and equipments, and

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the value of the prey which awaited the attack. When he perceived by the murmurs of applause and the maledictions against their enemies which burst from the stern multitude he was addressing, that he had roused them to that degree of rage which he thought fit for his purpose, he ended his harangue by a loud and emphatic call to an immediate attack. "The hour is come," he said, "when, without further counsel, we must march to overwhelm our foes:—leave deliberation to more timid souls, and to those who love to evade dangers rather than to affront them. Our habits are fiercer, and more becoming soldiers, and it is enough for us to see our enemy that we should fall upon him. With the help then of God, who in his justice has resolved to punish the insolence and pride of the French, onward! Grasp your pikes with your old vigour, beat your drums; without a moment's delay let these Frenchmen feel the weight of your weapons, and satiate your well grounded hatred in the blood of those who in their arrogance would tread upon all men, but whose weakness and worthlessness make them the prey of all."

Fleuranges captures and releases some Swiss leaders.

The wild multitude were won; but even before the harangue was finished, some news arrived which would have insured the success of the cardinal's exhortation. Fleuranges, who at the head of a troop of the black bands had been keeping up the character of *le Jeune Aventureux*, which he had assumed, and by which he was constantly

called, heard that there were a hundred Swiss officers in Turin, but he did not know that they had been invited thither by the duke of Savoy, under the pretext of some public entertainment, and in the hope that he might by their means still effect the treaty which had been broken off. Fleuranges, in a spirit of mere wantonness, resolved to capture these officers; and, introducing some of his men by night, and in very small divisions into the city, he surprised the Swiss in their beds, and carried them off to the French camp, before they had slept away the remembrance of the duke's banquet. Upon the remonstrance of the duke of Savoy, who thought his honour concerned in the safety of the Swiss officers, Fleuranges released them all. (a) They returned to the camp more indignant at their capture than thankful for their release, and added by their relation of the event to the excitement which the cardinal's harangue had already produced. The instant attack was resolved upon with loud acclamations, and the march begun.

It was on the 13th of September, that, under the influence of this excitement, the Swiss marched out of Milan with more than their

The Swiss
commence
the attack.

(a) Fleuranges' own account of this matter is, that he was only induced to part with the officers upon the assurance of the duke of Savoy, that they had been at Turin "pour affaire du Roi, et à bonne intention;" and he says, moreover, that the king was sorry he had done so, because, as they were among the principal officers, the others would not in all probability have ventured an engagement while they were absent.—Mém. de Fleur.

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usual impetuosity, and still in perfectly good order, to the field of Marignan. They had left behind them their drums and fifes, and had no other martial music than their horns—the same instruments which had been used for bringing together their brave progenitors, the founders of the freedom of Switzerland, who taught their tyrants and the whole world that to love liberty ardently, and to be free, are the same thing. It wanted but two hours to sunset when their approach was perceived by the French outposts.

The battle
of Marig-
nan.

The king was talking with d'Alviano, who had come to him from Lodi for the purpose of discussing the means of safely effecting a junction with the Venetian army, when Fleuranges galloped in with a message from the constable, who commanded the van-guard, informing him that the enemy were upon them. Francis called for his arms, put himself at the head of his division, and hastened to the attack, which had already begun, while d'Alviano hurried back to Lodi, to bring up such force as he could collect. The constable had committed the guard of the artillery to the lanz-knechts, not only because they were among the troops whose steadiness he could best rely on, but because he knew that the mutual hatred which prevailed between them and the Swiss would make them fight desperately. In the front of the guns he had dug a large fosse, and had placed his cavalry so as to act upon the flanks.

The Swiss came on in perfect silence: a fire was opened on them, which they bore with the greatest firmness; and still they advanced against the guns in admirable order. Bourbon saw that the destructive manœuvre of Novara was to be again attempted, and marched out some companies of lanz-knechts, whom the Swiss immediately attacked without seeming to pay any attention to the cavalry. The Germans, who had adopted a most unfounded suspicion that the treaty between the Swiss and the French had been completed, and that they were to be sacrificed to their implacable enemies, felt convinced, when they perceived the attack of the Swiss to be directed against them alone, that they were not mistaken. In utter dismay they gave ground, and retreated in disorder behind the fosse, which the Swiss entered with them, and got possession of four of the guns. The constable saw in an instant the mistake, and the fatal consequences which must ensue if it were not promptly repaired. He made his gendarmes charge the Swiss in flank, which they did with great effect; and in the mean time the black bands, with Francis himself at their head, had time to come up, and make a vigorous attack upon their opposite flank. The lanz-knechts now saw that their doubts were wholly groundless: they attempted to regain their former position, and with so much success that the Swiss were driven beyond the fosse, and the guns were once more

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turned against them. In this part of the engagement Francis fought on foot, with a pike in his hand; and his presence, and the reckless courage with which he opposed himself to the common danger, are said to have contributed mainly to the repulse of the Swiss. Still, though they were shaken, the advantage which had been gained over them was unimportant. They presented the same formidable appearance, and their close ranks and their long pikes seemed to defy all attack. The constable and the other leaders of the French cavalry tried every thing that desperate valour could suggest to break them, and returned more than twenty times to the charge, with a courageous determination which repeated disappointments had made furious. Their attempts exhausted them, and they were at length driven back in some disorder upon their own infantry, when the king made a diversion in their favour by charging with 200 gendarmes a battalion of 4,000 foot, which composed one of the Swiss wings, and this manœuvre was executed so opportunely, and with so much force, that the division was wholly routed, compelled to lay down their pikes, and cry "France!"

The night came on, and the fight still continued to rage furiously. The uniforms of the French and the Swiss were very much alike; each of them bore the white cross: but the Swiss had in addition, as a token of their adherence to the Pope, the keys of Saint Peter,

which badge the cardinal of Sion had made them assume when the title of defenders of the church was conferred on them. The dust, which had been raised by the conflict, added to the obscurity of the twilight, had long before made it difficult to distinguish friend from foe; and it had now become impossible. The moon, however, soon rose, and afforded light enough for combatants who were still intent upon slaughter. The Swiss, having no cavalry, knew that they could not be mistaken in directing their attack against the French gendarmes, while the latter were often unable to recognise their own people; and to this circumstance Francis had nearly owed his destruction. He was at the head of his gendarmes, and thought he saw a body of anz-knechts immediately before him. He rode up to them, and had scarcely uttered the rallying cry, "France!" when he found, by the numerous pikes aimed at him, that he was at close quarters with the enemy. He brought off his troop as rapidly as he could, but not without loss; and having rallied a body of lanz-knechts, while the constable led up the French foot, they attacked and drove back the battalion which was advancing to the cannon. The artillery, as long as the fight lasted, was the point of attack to which the Swiss directed all their force with indomitable pertinacity. There the battle raged in its utmost fury, and there the confusion was at its height. La Tremoille,

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who had determined that no second Novara should stain the arms of France, and his son, the prince de Talmond, never stirred from this post. Bayard, too, who was always to be found where peril put on her most frightful shape, had made this the scene of his exploits. At about half an hour before midnight the moon went down, and then the combatants, with unassuaged ferocity, though with exhausted strength, were compelled to pause from their work of blood. No signal was given for the retreat; the detachments remained in the same places in which they had been surprised by the darkness. Swiss, French, Germans, and Italians, lay down upon the blood-drenched field, almost side by side, to snatch a brief interval of repose until the day should enable them to resume their toils, and not daring in the mean time to raise a cry which might bring their friends about them, lest it should also betray them to their enemies. The king, surrounded by some gentlemen who had kept close to his person during the whole day, lay down upon the carriage of a gun, wearied with his exertions, slightly wounded with a pike, and considerably bruised from blows which, but for his harness of proof, would have had more serious effects. He asked for some drink, and all that could be procured for him was some water in a morion, and that so mingled with blood that his heart sickened at the attempt to swallow it. It was immediately afterwards ascertained that he was within fifty paces

of the main body of the Swiss; the single torch, which had hitherto lighted Francis and the few followers who had been at his side when the darkness surprised them, was now hastily extinguished, and Gouffier Boisy, who had followed his pupil to the field as grand master, advised him not to encounter the danger of retreating, but to remain where he was;—thus the night was passed.

The break of day was the signal for renewing the fight. The Swiss got into order and made an impetuous attack upon the artillery. The lanz-knechts and the black bands, who had placed themselves in its defence, were driven back. The assailants performed prodigies of valour; (*a*) but the well directed fire of Galiot de Genouillac, who commanded the guns, opened their ranks in so destructive a manner, that the gendarmes could penetrate, and turned the tide of the battle in their favour. The Swiss, however, continued their attack with desperate energy, and, finding their foes invulnerable in front, detached a part of their force, with orders to make a short circuit and fall upon the French rear. The manœuvre was skilfully performed; but the duke d'Alençon's troops, who had not been hitherto engaged, and who had been reinforced by the cross bowmen of Aimard de Prie,

(*a*) A Swiss lad, of about twenty years old, had penetrated, with a desperate courage, through the French and German regiments to one of the largest cannons, and was in the act of spiking it, when he was killed by a pike-thrust.—Varillas, t. i. p. 50.

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III.

gave them so warm a reception, that they were totally routed. The victory now evidently inclined in favour of the French, and, after some further resistance, the Swiss began to retire, still, however, with unbroken ranks, and presenting a formidable front to their enemies. A pursuit would have done them considerable damage; but the king, either from a remote hope that he might one day have occasion for their services, (*a*) or because the number of his own wounded (*b*) required all his care, permitted

(*a*) Bayard is said to have counselled this forbearance, because, he said, "On pourroit bien avoir affaire des Suisses le tems advenir."—Mém. de Bayard.

(*b*) The young count de Guise was among the number. Although then but two and twenty years old, his uncle, the duke the Gueldres, had committed to him the charge of his troops, being compelled to return to his own dominions, for the purpose of checking an attack which the Brabanters had made on them in his absence, and believing also that the treaty with the Swiss would be carried into effect. It was by the count de Guise that the lanz-knechts had been brought back to the charge after their first retreat. In the subsequent parts of the engagements he behaved with extraordinary courage, and at length fell pierced with two and twenty wounds. Adam de Nuremberg, his squire, threw himself across his body, and was killed in attempting to defend it. A Scotch gentleman, named James, recognised the count in the heap of dead and dying by which he was surrounded, and putting him, senseless as he was, on his horse, carried him to his tent, where the skill of the surgeons restored him to animation. At the end of three months he was restored; and, as he possessed no less superstition than courage, he performed the vow which he had made in his illness, of making a pilgrimage on foot, armed at all points, to the shrine of St. Nicholas in Lorraine.—P. Jov., l. xv. Mém. de du Bellay, l. i.

them to retreat almost unmolested. D'Alviano, who arrived, after a night march, with some hastily collected cavalry belonging to the Venetian army, relieved the mortification he felt at having arrived too late for the battle, by attacking the Swiss on their march; but the effort was fatal to him. (*a*) The fatigue he had undergone broke down a constitution which age had already enfeebled, and an illness ensued, which soon after brought him to the grave. The loss to the Swiss was enormous, fifteen thousand of their men being left on the field. The French also paid dearly for their triumph with the lives of above six thousand, among whom were Francis de Bourbon, the brother of the constable, who fell by his side; Bertrand de Bourbon Carenci; the Prince de Talmond, who had nobly emulated the example of his father; Pierre de Gouffier Boisy, the brother of the grand master; and the amiable and gallant d'Imbercourt. The king was frequently in great peril; and Bourbon, to whose coolness and valour the victory was in no small degree owing, would inevitably have fallen under an attack which was particularly directed against him, but for the prompt succour of a few gendarmes of his own, who formed about him, and, at the utmost risk, repelled his assailants.

(*a*) The young count Pitigliano, who rode with d'Alviano, rushed so furiously upon the Swiss that he could not extricate himself, and was completely overwhelmed by their numbers.—*Mém. de du Bellay*, l. i.

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A battle more strenuously contested, or more bloody in its result, had not been seen for many years. It was the first exploit in arms of a young monarch round whose standard not only the very flower of his own nobility and gentry, but the sovereign princes of Savoy, Lorraine, and Gueldres had fought. Two days and a night had been passed by the contending armies in almost uninterrupted conflict, and it well deserved the character given of it by Trivulzio, who said it was a fight of giants, and that all the battles he had seen before were children's play compared with it. It at once gained for Francis the reputation of an able warrior; and the impression which it made throughout Europe, although it raised his fame to the highest point, caused him to be looked at with fear by some, and with jealousy by all of the potentates, who could not but apprehend that the ambition and love of glory which they believed him to possess, added to the prowess he had displayed, and the triumph he had gained, might one day make him the most formidable power in Europe.

The Swiss
dispersed.

The Swiss dispersed themselves as soon as they got clear of the field of battle. Some of them went to their homes, and others retired to Milan; but two companies were so unfortunate as to take up their quarters in a village at a short distance from Marignan. The French advanced guard arrived there soon afterwards, and summoned them to surrender. The Swiss replied, with a fierceness in which was a mix-

ture of despair, that their enemies knew they were always prepared to die, but that they never surrendered. A conflict ensued, which the resolute defence of the Swiss might have protracted, but for the barbarous expedient to which the French resorted of firing the town. The Swiss perished to a man; and with them some of the Frenchmen, one of whom was the Seigneur de Meilleraye, the king's standard-bearer, whose eagerness in the destructive work brought upon him the same fate.

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The details of the battle are given by Francis himself, in a letter written immediately afterwards to his mother. It bears all the marks of great haste; and its inaccuracy in some particulars, and its uncertainty in others, may therefore be easily accounted for. It is, however, not only one of the most satisfactory illustrations of the tone and manners of the time, but an interesting indication of the disposition and spirit of the young conqueror. Elated, as he had great reason to be, at so brilliant a result of what may be called his first essay in arms, there is none of the arrogance which a less noble mind would have displayed. His description is concise and rapid, but is, at the same time, clear and striking. Of himself and of his exploits he speaks with confidence, but at the same time with a frankness and modesty which prove that not an atom of vanity mingles in the recital. He praises his noble companions warmly and joyously, and rather in

Francis's
account of
the battle.

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the tone of a man who is proud of numbering such heroes among his friends, than of a king who congratulates himself that he has such subjects. Every word of encomium comes direct from the heart; he touches slightly, but with a humane and unaffected sensibility, upon the losses of his own army, and gives to his enemies the full meed of praise to which their valour entitles them; but preserves, even in the midst of his enthusiasm, that manly delicacy, which was a distinguishing part of his character. (a)

The king
knighted
by Bayard.

The fight being over, and the number of the killed and wounded ascertained, the king ordered a chapel to be erected on the field of battle, as a monument at once of his piety and of his victory. He next prepared, in the spirit of that chivalry of which, antiquated as it had even then become, he professed himself throughout his life an earnest and ardent disciple, to receive the order of knighthood on the spot where he had so well won his spurs. On no occasion, perhaps, did he more remarkably prove his good taste and discrimination than in choosing to receive this dignity from the hand of the chevalier Bayard, the most modest hero and the most perfect model of all chivalrous virtue. (b) Fran-

(a) Appendix, No. IV.

(b) The maréchal de Fleuranges, and Le Père Daniel, who follows him, state this to have taken place before the battle; but the historian of his life says expressly, that it was an honour conferred on him with immediate reference to the engagement in which he had just before distinguished himself. Paulus Jovius corroborates this statement:—*Bay-*

cis, being then qualified, conferred the order of knighthood upon a great number of his officers. CHAP.
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After three days passed upon the field of battle, in performing these ceremonies, and in providing an honourable sepulture for the dead, the army marched towards Milan. Thither the cardinal of Sion had fled, immediately after the fight at Marignan was decided, in the hope of still finding means to oppose the French army. When the survivors of the battle came into the town, he perceived, however, that his influence with them was wholly destroyed ; they reproached him with bitterness for that pernicious counsel which had cost the blood of such numbers of their countrymen, and had torn from them the reputation of being invincible in war, which they had so bravely earned, and which they so highly prized. It was his holy character of cardinal legate alone that preserved him from the infuriated soldiery, and he was fain to escape hastily and secretly to the court of the emperor, carrying with him, however, Francesco Sforza, the younger brother of the duke Maximilian ; so that if the latter should fall into the hands of the French, the germ of future warfare might not be wanting.

The people of Milan threw open their gates to the royal army, but the citadel, reputed to

Lays siege to the fortress of Milan.

ardum ideo cæteris pretulit quod acerrime inter hostes pugnantem conspexerat.—Hist. l. xv. The details of the ceremony, which are extremely interesting, will be found in the Appendix, No. V.

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be the strongest in the world, still held out. The elder Sforza had ammunition and provisions for several months. The Swiss who had reached Milan, shut themselves with him in the fortress; and more, as it should seem, out of enmity to the French than from good will to a prince whose service had proved so ruinous to them, they resolved to defend him to the last. The constable laid siege to the citadel, and pressed it with the utmost vigour. (a) Pietro da Navarra, who boasted that in less than a month he would reduce the fortress with his new and destructive system of mining, struck such terror into the place as no army, however numerous, could have occasioned, although he narrowly escaped the effects of his own art. (b)

Results of
the battle
of Marig-
nan.

The consequences of the late victory soon began to shew themselves. Cardona was too glad of the pretext which it afforded him to withdraw the Spanish troops to Naples. Lorenzo de' Medici, thus deserted, could not alone, even if he had been so disposed, take any step which might thwart the treaty still pending between the Pope and Francis, and in favour of which the temporizing Leo now ventured to declare himself more openly. From the emperor nothing was to be expected; and even the Swiss, who, in their diet at Zurich, had threatened still to continue the war, shewed so little alacrity in carrying their menace into practice, that it was evident they were rather disposed to treat than

(a) Guic., l. xii. p. 102.

(b) Du Bellay, l. i.

to fight. Bourbon learned at the same time that a misunderstanding existed between the Swiss and the Italians in the garrison, (*a*) and he therefore resolved to attempt that by a negociation which must otherwise be a work of considerable time. By means of his kinsman, Giovanni da Gonzagua, then in the service of the duke of Milan, he gained over Hieronimo Morone, the duke's chancellor, who possessed extraordinary influence over his sovereign, and two of the Swiss leaders. (*b*) An offer of a capitulation was shortly made, and four days afterwards the treaty was signed, by which Sforza gave up his castles of Milan and Cremona, and renounced his ducal rights in favour of Francis, who took him under his protection, promised him a yearly stipend of 30,000 crowns, or church benefices to the same amount, and to exert his influence with the pope for procuring him a cardinal's hat. (*c*)

CHAP.
III.

Milan is
surren-
dered.

(*a*) The garrison in the castle of Milan was composed of Italians and Swiss, between whom dissensions often took place for want of a commander who was powerful enough to keep them both under control. One day, an Italian soldier, seeing a Swiss treated, as he thought, better than himself in the distribution of rations, asked whether he was so favoured because he had run away the first at the battle of Marignan. The Swiss, enraged at this, drew; the bye-standers of either nation took part in the quarrel, and a tumult ensued, which Sforza had great difficulty in quelling, and which he saw was likely to break out again.—Varillas, t. i. p. 74.

(*b*) Guicc., l. xii. p. 104.

(*c*) Immediately after this treaty the ex-duke retired to France, where he died on the 10th of June, 1530, having enjoyed in private life (for which his disposition best qualified him) the tranquillity that was denied him on the disturbed

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III.

The other articles stipulated that the king should pay the Swiss who were in the garrison the arrears then due to them from Sforza, and a further gratuity of 6,000 crowns; that an amnesty should be signed, including all persons who had taken part with the duke; and that Gonzagua and Morone should retain their places with the emoluments which were attached to them, or that the king should provide them an equivalent in France. The latter provision gave rise to a suspicion that Morone had made a treacherous use of the almost unlimited influence he possessed over Sforza; a suspicion which his ambitious and intriguing temper, no less than his subsequent conduct, seem to have justified. (*a*)

Francis
gains the
Milanese.

By this treaty Francis became master of the whole of the Milanese. He made his entry into the city in the ducal robes, at the head of 1,800 horse, and 24,000 foot, and accompanied by five

throne to which the intrigues of his pretended friends, rather than his own inclination, had prompted him to aspire.

(*a*) Morone was universally believed to have been guilty of treachery, and the justice of the imputation was proved when it was perceived that some of the articles of the treaty provided for his personal interests. He attempted to clear his reputation, but a statement which he made in writing intitled, *Giustificazione di Jeronimo Morone circa la dedizione del Castello di Milano*, and published in the cavalier Rosmini's life of Trivulzio, only aggravates the suspicions. This apology is perfectly contemptible, and amounts only to naked assertions, and to saying that all the world knew the manner in which he had acted.—Count Bossi's translation of Roscoe's *Leo X.*, t. v. p. 181.

princes of the blood. (a) The authorities of Milan presented themselves to their new lord, and repeated to him that oath of fidelity which had been so often pledged and so often violated that it had become a bye-word. He established a parliament of similar constitution to those of France ; and, after eight days spent in inspecting his newly acquired duchy, and in receiving the unmeaning congratulations of the Italian potentates, he repaired to Vigevano.

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III.

Enters the city and takes up his quarters at Vigevano.

(a) The duke of Alençon, the constable Bourbon, the count de Vendosme, the count de St. Pol, and the prince de la Roche sur Yon.

CHAP. IV.

Francis treats with the Pope at Bologna—The affair of the Pragmatic Sanction and the Concordat—The King returns to France—Jealousy excited in England respecting d'Aubigny, the Regent of Scotland, and Richard de la Pole, the White Rose—Henry furnishes money to the Emperor, who attacks Milan—the result of that Expedition—Maximilian decamps—The Death of Ferdinand—Charles succeeds to the Throne of Spain—Negotiations between the Ministers of Francis and Charles—Treaty of Noyon—Francis forms a permanent League with the Helvetic States—Birth of the Dauphin, Francis—Bourbon recalled from Milan—The Countess de Chateaubriant—History of her introduction to Court—Her influence over Francis—Learned Men—and state of Literature in France—The King encourages it—Patronizes its professors—Proposes to found a Royal College—Of which Erasmus is solicited to become the principal—The Parliament refuses to register the Concordat—Discontent to which the King's insisting on it gives rise—Troubles at Milan, in consequence of Lautrec's government—Trivulzio's unmerited disgrace and death—Francis solicits the friendship of Henry VIII.—Bonnivet's embassy—Treaty of peace—Cession of Tournay—Proposed Crusade—Disastrous expedition to Denmark—Charles endeavours to procure the investiture of Naples, and to be crowned King of the Romans—Death of Maximilian—His character.

CHAPTER IV.

FRANCIS'S ascendancy in Italy had become so apparent by the result of the fight at Marignan, that the Pope found it necessary to quit the line of policy he had hitherto adopted, and he determined to yield with as good a grace as he could assume, to a power which he was in no situation to oppose. The nuncio, who had been dispatched to compliment the king after the battle, proposed to enter into a treaty on the part of Leo, by which his holiness should relinquish his pretensions to Parma and Piacenza, and withdraw such troops of his as were in the service of the emperor, on having the cession of Bologna, and the exclusive supply of salt from Cervia, secured to him. This proposal was agreed to by the king, and the treaty was ratified by the Pope himself, at Viterbo, on the 13th of October. The manner in which he performed his part of the stipulation was ingeniously devised, so as to fulfil its very letter and yet preserve the dignity of the Holy See. Parma and Piacenza were evacuated, and their gates left open, so that the French troops might enter at their pleasure, and the papal troops serving in the emperor's army were disbanded—not recalled. It had been agreed, that Leo and Francis should have a

1515.
Francis
treats with
the Pope.

CHAP.
IV.

Their in-
terview at
Bologna.

personal conference for the settlement of the minor details, and Bologna having been fixed on (a) for this purpose, on the 10th of December the French king repaired thither. He was met on the confines of the ecclesiastical states, by a troop of thirty cardinals, who conducted him immediately to the consistory, where he paid that spiritual homage to the Pope which a Christian prince was thought to owe to the head of the church; and the ceremonial being concluded, they conferred together in private upon the temporal concerns which were the real objects of the meeting.

The terms
of their
treaty.

Three days were occupied in this conference, the principal points of which were Francis's claims on Naples; the fiefs of the church, and the affairs of the Concordat and of the Pragmatic Sanction. Leo found little difficulty in persuading the king to postpone, for the present, any attempt upon Naples, by representing to him that at Ferdinand's death, which, by reason of his age and infirmities, seemed necessarily near at hand, he should be freed from the engagements he was under to him, and be enabled to aid, as he wished to do, the enterprise of the French king. The duke of Ferrara, a feuda-

(a) The danger of a hostile monarch's visit to Rome had been experienced on former occasions; and Leo, who feared that Francis had some design upon Naples, prudently determined not to bring him so far on his way to the point whither he suspected his ambition tended. In assigning Bologna for the place of meeting, he affected to consult the king's convenience.—Paul. Jov., l. xvi.

tory of the Roman see, had deserved the protection of France by the fidelity with which he had adhered to it, and which had cost him his territories of Modena and Reggio. Francis stipulated that these should be restored to him, and obtained his request, on condition of the Pope being reimbursed certain sums which, as he alleged, the defalcation of the duke had occasioned. The duke of Urbino, who was a kinsman of the late Pope, and whose enmity to Leo was much less questionable than his attachment to France, although he had taken service with the latter during the recent war, had been deprived by a sentence of the consistory of the estates which he held of the see of Rome. Francis required that he should be reinstated in the possession of his demesne, and was satisfied with an equivocal promise that this request should be treated with the consideration it deserved. The affair of the Pragmatic Sanction was one not so easily disposed of, and was, therefore, for the present remitted to the consideration of commissioners, who were empowered to settle the difficult questions which it involved.

The church of France had long claimed an exemption from the authority of the Pope in certain local ecclesiastical affairs, and particularly respecting the revenues of their benefices. By an assembly of the Gallican church at Bourges, in 1438, a collection of rules was drawn up, restricting the power of the Pope and purifying

The affair of the Concordat and of the Pragmatic Sanction.

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the ecclesiastical discipline from many errors and abuses which had crept into it. These rules, from their having been then allowed and agreed to by the council, were commonly called by the name of the Pragmatic Sanction. Their main points were, that a general council should be called every ten years; that the annates, the reserves, and the expectatives which had been sources of great profit to the Roman see, should be abolished; that the liberty of elections should be re-established, and that the Pope's power of nominating to benefices should be wholly abrogated. It was clearly the interest of the French king, that a regulation which secured to him, and to the clergy of his kingdom so large a share of the power which the Pope claimed, should subsist. Leo, on the other hand, was desirous of putting an end to a system which was not only derogatory to the dignity of the Holy See, but diminished its revenues. A contrivance was suggested by the commissioners which reconciled their conflicting interests, and by which each party gave up some points in order to establish others. The Pope granted to Francis the power of nominating to vacant benefices within his kingdom—a power which destroyed the freedom of ecclesiastical elections; and Francis, in return, conceded to Leo the annates, or year's revenue, of such benefices as the king should appoint to. This regulation being reduced into form, was the celebrated *Concordat*, which the university of

Paris afterwards refused to register or conform to, and which brought upon Francis the imputation of having bartered the inalienable rights of the church for his own pecuniary advantage. (*a*)

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These matters being thus disposed of, the Pope exhorted Francis to engage in a war against the Turks; and, by way of inducement, offered him the title of Emperor of the East. The king accepted the compliment, but was too wise to assume a title which, empty as it was, at the best, he knew the Pope had no right to confer; and resolved rather to pursue objects which were more easily attainable, and which concerned more nearly his own honour and his people's prosperity.

Leo endeavours to engage Francis in a crusade.

Francis had, to all appearance, accomplished the purpose for which he had invaded Italy. Milan was not only regained, but was in a state of perfect tranquillity. The people were in the full enjoyment of their accustomed liberties, and the vigilant government of the constable de Bourbon, whom the king had appointed his lieutenant-general of the Milanese, ensured their safety against any foreign attack. The Swiss had been pacified by the payment of their stipends, and if their friendship was not secured, their enmity was at least suspended. The Venetians were still employed in the recovery of their former possessions, and some part of the French army under the command of Lautrec remained,

The king returns to France.

(*a*) Hist. S. Lateran. Concil., p. 184. Gaillard, t. iv.

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IV.

in pursuance of the treaty, to assist them in this design. The young king was naturally desirous to return to France to enjoy, in the congratulations of his friends and the applauses of his people, the most grateful fruits of his victory. He, therefore, hastened from Milan to Lyons, where he was joyfully welcomed by his queen, his mother, and a great part of his court, who celebrated his return with extraordinary magnificence.

Jealousy of
England
respecting
the regent
of Scotland
and the
pretender,
de la Pole.

The presence of Francis in his own dominions had also become desirable on political grounds. Ferdinand of Spain, whose restless spirit neither years nor infirmities could quell, and who saw in the French king's success the probability of danger to his Neapolitan possessions, had been busily employed in exciting the jealousy and envy of the king of England. He had formed a party in Henry's court, at the head of which were Wolsey and the bishop of Durham, by whom Francis was denounced as the secret, but dangerous enemy of England, and circumstances which he could not, and ought not to have controlled, were alleged in council as the proofs of this accusation. D'Aubigny had repaired after the battle of Marignan to Scotland, where he had assumed the office of regent, to which he had been appointed by the will of his kinsman, the late king. Some of the disturbances on the borders, which were of constant occurrence, and which the government had no power either to foment or repress, were magnified into acts of

hostility against England; and by an easy extension of the misrepresentation, Francis was said to be the promoter of them. Some Scottish pirates had plundered the vessels of English merchants, and this too was laid to his charge. Richard de la Pole, (a) who had been unjustly deprived of his patrimony, and of his title as earl of Suffolk, and who had been driven from England, sought a refuge in France, where his courage and talents raised him into some notice. At the head of a body of troops which he had got together, he joined in the continental wars in the character of an independent leader. He was then commonly called *Rose Blanche*, from his being of the house of York; and although he had not the slightest pretension to the crown of Eng-

De la Pole,
Rose
Blanche.

(a) Edmond, earl of Suffolk, the eldest son of king Edward's sister, having killed an inferior in his passion, fled to his aunt Margaret, in Flanders. Pardon'd by Henry VII. he returned; but involving himself in debt, he again resorted to her, with his brother Richard; and as she had stirred up so many conspiracies against the house of Tudor, Henry sent a knight to watch him; and he went to France and Germany, to get aid for an invasion, (Hall, 495, 6). His brother Richard, being more steady and accomplished, was forgiven, and made chamberlain to prince Arthur, (Pol. Virg., 610). When the archduke Philip visited England, the king desired him to give up Edmond as a traitor, (Hall, 501). Philip had him a prisoner at Namur, and promised to surrender him on condition that his life should be spared, which he did, and Suffolk was confin'd by Henry, (Guicc., l. vii. p. 114). When he ceased to alarm, his brother Richard adopted his disturbing feelings and wild ambition, and returning into France, became a rallying point for discontent and rebellion against Henry.—Turner's Henry VIII., vol. i. p. 159.

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land, on that, or on any other ground, his name was used for the purpose of colouring an invasion of England, whenever that project was threatened. On the present occasion the favour he received from Francis, which amounted merely to his being permitted to take shelter in the French kingdom, and to exercise his military profession, the only means of supporting existence that the malice of his enemies had left him, were represented by the corrupt churchmen as a proof that the French monarch favoured de la Pole's pretensions to the English throne. Upon such grounds they purposed to break the treaty with France, and to commence a war. (a) The good sense and good faith of the English council overruled so flagrant a violation of the national honour; but could not prevent Henry from agreeing secretly to furnish the emperor, who solicited him by means of the indefatigable cardinal of Sion, with money to assist in an enterprise for the recovery of the Milanese on behalf of Francis, the brother of Maximilian Sforza. (b)

Henry VIII. furnishes the emperor with money.

Maximilian attacks the Milanese in person.

To persuade the emperor Maximilian to engage in a war was a matter of little difficulty,

(a) Fiides, 97. Lord Herbert.

(b) "In the moneth of October came into England, Mathew, Bishop of Sedono', and cardinall, called comonly the cardinal of Swyshes, fro' the emperour Maximilia'. This cardinal was a wyse man of great boldnes, and was wel entreteyned in the court, and of the king. And at his co'te'placion and for olde love, the kyng lent to the emperour Maximilian a great sum of money.—Hall, f. 59.

and the money from England, coupled with the promises of Ferdinand, and the exhortations of the cardinal of Sion, soon brought him to the resolution of commencing the attack. Lautrec was with his own and the Venetian troops before Brescia, the garrison of which had agreed to surrender if they were not succoured within thirty days. Before that time had expired, count Roquendolf succeeded in introducing 6,000 Germans into the fortress ; and shortly afterwards, to the astonishment of all the world, the indolent Maximilian himself appeared at the head of 16,000 lanz-knechts, 14,000 Swiss of such of the cantons as were not included in the league with France, and a large body of cavalry raised on the credit of the promised supplies. The French and the Venetians, who were not prepared to encounter any such force, retired to Milan, which the constable immediately put as well as he could into a posture of defence ; but in doing so he was obliged to destroy the suburbs of the city, to the great distress and ruin of a large part of the inhabitants. Maximilian, however, who was always more prompt to begin than he was firm in executing a project of danger, pursued but slowly the advantage which his sudden appearance had given him over the allied armies, while the prompt succours which the constable received from France, and the arrival of the celebrated Swiss leader Albert de la Pierre, with 13,000 of his countrymen, presented a formidable force against him. The influence of the cardinal de Sion, ever fatal to France, was again exerted.

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IV.

The Swiss auxiliaries were induced to object against encountering their countrymen. Bourbon, acting under the indignation which this conduct was well calculated to excite, immediately disbanded them, and, with the exception of the company which Albert de la Pierre commanded, and who stipulated that they should be employed only against the Germans in the emperor's army, the whole of this force quitted the garrison.

His troops
mutiny.

Maximilian, upon learning this news, believed that his conquest was certain. He was loud in his denunciations against Milan, and threatened to raze it to its foundations, and to sow its scite with salt, unless his rage should be appeased by an instant capitulation. He sate down before the city, and promised himself, by its plunder, to obtain the money which he was to have received from the king of England for the purpose of paying his army, only a small portion of which had reached his hands. (a) The Swiss had now been in his ranks for more than a month without receiving any part of their stipends; they knew Maximilian too well to trust to his promises, and their accustomed insolence began to display itself in unceremonious clamour. Stafler, their colonel, thrust himself one morning into the emperor's bed-chamber, and demanded the arrears which were due to them. The emperor tried by alter-

(a) The house of Frescobaldi, Genoese merchants and bankers, to whom the money had been paid in England, for the purpose of being remitted to the emperor, had failed before their bills became due.—Hall. f. 59.

nate menaces, promises, and entreaties, to rid himself of this troublesome applicant; but in vain. The colonel told him dryly that the soldiers had made up their minds if they did not receive the money which was then due to them, that they would go over to the constable of France, who offered them present pay. This intimation filled the emperor with alarm; he remembered the fate of Ludovico Sforza, whom these same Swiss had delivered to the French, and believing that he had reason to fear a similar result from their discontent, he promised to accompany the cardinal de Sion with their arrears to the quarters of the Swiss in the evening of the same day. As soon as he had relieved himself by this promise of his importunate visitant, he rose, and took refuge among his own Germans, with whom however he hardly thought himself in safety. Trivulzio added to his terror, by dispatching a fictitious letter, which was certain to fall into his hands, addressed to the Swiss leaders, and purporting that a plot was forming against the person of Maximilian. Upon reading this, the emperor was convinced that his only safety lay in immediate flight. He therefore dispatched the cardinal de Sion to the Swiss captains with 16,000 crowns, and an abundance of promises, bidding him inform them that he was going to Trent to receive a sum of 80,000 crowns, for which he held bills of exchange; and having thus gained time enough to accomplish the design he had formed, he set off in the night, accompanied

Maximilian de-camps.

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only by 200 horse, leaving his army to do as their own wills might suggest; and before his flight was discovered, he was beyond the reach of pursuit. The army of which he was the nominal leader was of course immediately disbanded, and the siege of Milan raised. The Swiss indemnified themselves by plundering in their way home, such towns as could not resist them, and the Germans fled from the attack of the count de St. Pol, Montmorenci, and Lescun, whom the constable dispatched to harass their retreat. By this ridiculous termination of an enterprise which in its commencement appeared really formidable, the French were left in the undisturbed possession of the Milanese, and Maximilian completed the destruction of that reputation for courage and military skill which he had, not undeservedly, gained in his earlier years.

The death
of Ferdi-
nand of
Spain.

The siege of Brescia was then resumed, and was soon terminated by the capitulation of that city. Verona still held out; and while Marc Antonio Colonna defended it, seemed to bid defiance to all attack. The death of Ferdinand, however, which happened soon afterwards, somewhat suddenly, (*a*) relieved France from her most

(*a*) The death of Ferdinand has been ascribed to the effect of a stimulating medicine administered to him by his wife; but, considering the laborious life he had led, and that he had attained the age of sixty-five, his dissolution may be accounted for without having recourse to the supposition that it was occasioned by an absurd desire to revive physical powers, which were extinct. There is a story connected with his death which, although it may be beneath the dig-

dangerous enemy, and left the king at liberty to devise means for securing his possessions, and keeping in check the powers by which they were menaced. (a)

The death of Ferdinand, the catholic, had a most important influence upon the interests of Europe, by introducing amongst its monarchs one of the most able and enterprising spirits which this or any other age had beheld. A notion had prevailed that Ferdinand would bequeath the crown of Spain to his younger grandson, who bore his own name, and had been educated under his inspection; but his provision in this respect was consonant with the policy of his whole life. His grandson, Charles,

Charles
succeeds to
the throne
of Spain.

nity of history, is strongly characteristic of the superstitions of the times. It had been foretold to Ferdinand that he should die at Madrigal, a town of Castile, and he had therefore always avoided it. He was on his road to Seville when his illness attacked him, and was obliged to stop at the first village he came to. He inquired what it was called, and being told it was Madrigalejo, he said his hour was come, and that he was a dead man.

(a) The suspicions which the court of England had affected to entertain respecting Richard de la Pole, had suggested to Francis the means of annoying Henry; for it seems that, after Maximilian's expedition, he said, and publicly enough, that it might be reported to the English king, that he knew Henry was his enemy, and had aided Maximilian; and, addressing de la Pole, he said, "Because I know your title to be good to the crown of England, I shall shortly endeavour, without fail, to make such peace with the emperor, and to establish my affairs on such a footing that I may be able to assist you, both with men and money, towards obtaining your right."—Fiddes's Wolsey, p. 162.

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was already the heir apparent to the house of Austria, and to him he left his Spanish dominions, in the belief that such an union of territory would be the best means of preserving its possession entire, and of opposing the power of France, towards which nation even the contemplation of approaching death could not weaken either his animosity or his jealousy.

Negociations between the ministers of Francis and Charles.

The youthful Charles, who had as yet given no token of that temper or capacity which his subsequent life displayed, manifested, upon his accession to the Spanish throne, a strong desire to secure the friendship and alliance of the French king. A conference was proposed, and eagerly accepted by Francis, to whom it afforded an opportunity for bringing forward his own claims upon Naples, and those of his ally, Henri d'Albret, to the kingdom of Navarre, of which Ferdinand had dispossessed Jean, the late king, and in the attempt to recover which Francis had, for the first time, borne arms. Unwilling as Charles was to give up the possession of Navarre, the frontier situation of which made it desirable that it should always be in his hands, or at least under his control, he knew too well the value of Francis's amity to endanger it by rejecting his claims; he therefore readily consented that plenipotentiaries should be appointed on either side to arrange the question between them, and Noyon was fixed upon for their deliberations. It happened that the settlement of these questions fell into the hands of the persons

by whom the education of the two princes had been directed, Gouffier de Boisy being appointed the commissioner on the part of Francis, while Chievres represented the interests of Charles. (a)

Treaty of
Noyon.

A conjuncture more favourable for the interests of France could not have happened. The situation of Spain was by no means secure. Charles was unknown to the people of that country; the individuals who swayed his councils were distrusted and disliked; and a general

(a) The manner of Charles's education, as related by du Bellay, explains the aptitude he displayed for government at the early period of his life, when he was raised to the empire. "Pour vous dire ce que j'appris en ce voyage que fait Mgr. de Vendosme, et de la façon dont estoit instruit le dit Prince d'Espagne, le Seigneur de Chievres, que je vous ay dit cydevant, avoit esté par le Roy Louis ordonné gouverneur du dit prince, approuvé par les bonnes villes de Flandres, le nourrissoit alors, encore qu'il n'eut atteint les 15 ans de son aage en telle sorte que tous les paquets qui venoient de toutes provinces luy estoient presentez, encores qu'il fust la nuit, lesquels après avoir veuz, les rapportoit luy mesmes en son conseil, où toutes choses estoient deliberées en sa presence. Un jour estant le seigneur de Genly demeuré ambassadeur près la personne du dit prince de par le roy, et moy demeuré, par le commandement de mondit sieur de Vendosme, avecques le sieur de Genly, le seigneur de Chievres donnoit à souper audit de Genly; où, estans entrez en propos, M. de Genly dit au seigneur de Chievres *qu'il estoit estonné de quoy il donnoit tant de travail à l'esprit de ce jeune prince, veu qu'il avoit moyen de l'en soulager. Le seigneur de Chievres luy respondit: Mon cousin, je suis tuteur et curateur de sa jeunesse; je veux quand je mourray, qu'il demeure en liberté: car s'il n'entendoit ses affaires, il faudroit, après mon decez, qu'il eut un autre curateur, pour n'avoir entendu ses affaires, et n'avoir esté nourry au travail, se reposant toujours sur autrui.*"—t. i. p. 44.

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apprehension was entertained that his affection for the place of his birth would induce him to prefer the Low Countries to Spain. There was, besides, a party in Arragon well affected to the youthful Ferdinand, and even in Castile it was thought that Charles had no right to ascend the throne during the lifetime of his mother; although the state of her health was such as to preclude the possibility of her ever recovering the use of her intellects. The influence of France might, out of such materials, have excited troubles in Spain, which Charles would have found it difficult to overcome; while in Flanders, which, by proximity and by inclination, was well disposed to France, the same influence might prove still more injurious. Notwithstanding this favourable appearance, the negociations ended without any real advantage to Francis, and the superior cunning of Chievres triumphed over the single-minded Gouffier, as the consummate prudence and coolness of his pupil ever mastered the more heroic character of the French king.

The question relating to Navarre was disposed of by a promise that as soon as Charles should be settled in his Spanish dominions, he would examine into the claims of Henri d'Albret, and make such satisfaction as justice should require, or that Francis should be at liberty to aid the king of Navarre in any manner he might think fit. Francis's pretensions to Naples had been clearly defined by the treaty which Ferdi-

nand had entered into on his marriage with Germaine de Foix, and by which he stipulated that if he should die without children by that princess, and she should survive him, one half of the Neapolitan kingdom should revert to France. This case had happened, and the claim of Francis being thus put beyond dispute, it was settled by an expedient at that time very common in royal treaties. Charles engaged to marry Louise, the daughter of Francis, then one year old, and Francis agreed to give as her dowry all his title to the Neapolitan dominions; but in the mean time, Charles, being in possession of Naples, the king of France was to receive an annual payment of 100,000 crowns until the marriage, and half of that sum until the princess should have issue. Upon this basis a league, defensive and offensive, was entered into between the monarchs, an opportunity was reserved to Maximilian to join it if he should feel so disposed, and an interview was appointed to take place between the monarchs at Cambray. In the mean time, the future rivals expressed their esteem and affection for each other by an interchange of presents and compliments. (a)

(a) They sent to each other the collars of their respective national orders. Charles sent to Francis some fine Neapolitan horses, called him (in accordance with the custom of that day when a younger monarch addressed his senior) his "good father and friend," and communicated to him, as to a person who felt an interest in his good fortune, the success of his proceedings in Spain. "Pour continuation de la fervente amour," he says in one of his letters at this period,

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Of Francis's sincerity, or of the purity and integrity of his motives in the arrangement, no reasonable doubt can be entertained; while one of the earliest indications of that crafty duplicity of which Charles was so eminent a master, may be traced in the fact of his having entered, in the October following, into a defensive league with the king of England and the emperor, whereby he bound himself to levy war on any power by which either of the others should be attacked, and this at a time when Francis's well-known league with the Venetians compelled him to assist them against the emperor. (a) The acquiescence of Maximilian to the treaty of Noyon, to which he was induced by the payment of 100,000 crowns by the state of Venice, prevented the consequences which might have resulted from this double dealing of the young Spanish monarch, and restored peace between the emperor and France.

Francis forms a league with the Helvetic States.

Francis availed himself of this occasion to

“ que je vous porte, j'ai voulu vous faire part qui j'ai été proclamé roi dans mes royaumes de Castille, Leon, et Grenade, et que j'espère l'être de même en Arragon.”—Gaillard, t. i. c. 3.

(a) Maximilian, whose want of money rendered him always open to the best bidder, withdrew afterwards from the last mentioned league, and signified his adherence to that of Noyon, but not until he found that Verona must yield to the joint attacks of Lautrec's army, and to the famine which had reduced the garrison to a defenceless state. A sum of 100,000 crowns, offered him by the Venetians, induced him to yield to them that which they had already within their grasp.

effect a treaty at Fribourg with the whole Helvetic body, by which the nation bound itself never to bear arms against France, and the stipulations of which were always inviolably preserved. (*a*)

On the 28th of February, 1518, the queen was delivered at Amboise of a son, who received his father's name of Francis. The Pope, who knew that Francis suspected him, and not without reason, for the part he had lately played in covertly assisting the emperor's attack, took this opportunity of deprecating his resentment, and of effecting a closer alliance with him. It was in truth for this purpose, but under the pretext of representing his holiness as the godfather of the young prince, that Lorenzo de' Medici, the Pope's nephew, now visited France. The king accepted the overtures which he made, and gave him in marriage (*b*) Madeleine

Birth of the
dauphin
Francis.

(*a*) Some separate corps of adventurers, instigated by the cardinal de Sion, or by the inducement of higher pay, were found to fight against France; but this was always without the sanction of the nation, while numerous Swiss regiments were always in the French ranks.—Gaillard, l. i. c. 4.

(*b*) The marquis de Fleuranges describes, among other details, which are too gross to be alluded to, and which are for the same reason almost incredible, the entertainments which were given in celebration of these nuptials. "During eight days," he says, "the combats continued, in which the *nouveau marié* (for whom Fleuranges seems to have a great contempt) did his best in the presence of his lady. There was a citadel of wood, which the duke d'Alençon defended, and the duke de Bourbon besieged, and into which the king, accompanied by Fleuranges, introduced some succours. It contained a quantity of artillery, which consisted of large

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de Boulogne, one of his relatives. Lorenzo, in return, pledged himself and his house to the support of the interests of Francis. (a)

Bourbon
recalled
from Mi-
lan.

The constable, Bourbon, who had remained at Milan since its conquest, was now recalled. The cause of this proceeding is variously related. By some writers it is attributed to the influence of the Pope, against whom the constable had expressed an open hostility, whose friendship wooden cannon, *cerclés de fer, qui tiroient avecque de la poudre, et les boulets, qui estoient grosses balles pleines de vent, et aussi grosses que le cul d'ung tonneau, qui frap- poient au travers du ceulx qui tenoient le siège, et les ruoient par terre sans leur faire aucun mal, et estoit chose fort plaisante à veoir des bonds qu'elles faisoient!* The king and Fleuranges made a sally, and were encountered by Bourbon and the duke de Vendôme; an engagement ensued. *Le plus beau qu'on ait oncques vu, et le plus approchant du naturel de la guerre: mais le passe-temps ne plus pas à tous, car il y en eust beaucoup de tués et affolés."* The humour of *Le jeune aventurieux*, in the last passage, is irresistible.

(a) One of the conditions of this alliance was, that Francis should withdraw his protection from the duke of Urbino, which he did; but the duke, who had some of the prudence as well as the fierceness of his uncle, Julius II., had foreseen this conjuncture, and had provided against it by taking into his pay a great part of the troops whom the late peace had left without employment. He made such good use of his army, as not only to protect his own dominions, but to attack those of the church. After a conflict, which was conducted with great ferocity on both sides, the gold of the Medici effected that which their prowess could not accomplish. The duke's soldiers were induced to desert: he found himself almost alone, and was compelled to seek an asylum at Mantua, leaving his duchy to Lorenzo de' Medici, who took possession of it by right of conquest.

he believed to be fatal to the interests of France, and whose perfidy he had in vain requested permission to be allowed to punish. Others ascribe it to the persuasions of the countess of Chateaubriant, whose ascendancy over Francis began now to shew itself; and the fact of her brother, the marshal Lautrec, being made governor of the Milanese, in the room of Bourbon, in some degree supports this view of the subject. The new governor offered to assist the Pope in his war against the duke of Urbino, but his holiness, who judged of the sincerity of others by that which he himself practised, did not venture to accept this offer, and contented himself with securing the neutrality of the French.

Lautrec is appointed in his stead.

The pause which now ensued from the hostilities in which Francis, upon his accession to the throne, had been engaged, gave him leisure for indulging in pursuits, for which the only excuse that can be offered is his age, which was that of "folly and the passions," and the open libertinism of the times in which he lived. The virtuous and prudent Anne of Brittany had discountenanced the appearance of ladies at the court, excepting on occasions of ceremony and parade. The duchess d'Angoulême, not less from her love of society, which she knew must be insipid as well as gross without female influence, had induced her son to change this system. The wives and daughters of the nobles of France, formed under her influence a part of

Francis's love of pleasure.

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the court, and habits of gallantry prevailed, which, by a transition not unnatural to the then existing manners, soon degenerated into licentiousness. Francis's amorous disposition was too well calculated to encourage the dissoluteness that prevailed; and the mild, but retiring, virtues of his wife, although they secured his respect and affection, could not fix his fidelity.

The story
of the
countess de
Chateaubriant.

Among the nobles who repaired to the court was the count de Chateaubriant: he was related by marriage to the younger branch of the house of Foix, three of the brothers of which family were in the army, and had already shewn that they were worthy representatives of a name which had long stood eminent in the martial annals of France. The count de Chateaubriant had married their sister, whose extraordinary beauty had made up for her want of a dowry; and with a caution, in which the event proved that he was too well justified, he had declined bringing her to court. The report of her charms had, however, reached the ears of the king, who invited her husband to permit her to visit the metropolis. The count made various excuses; but, finding that he could not resist the importunities of the king, he endeavoured to put an end to them by assuring Francis that his wife loved her retirement too well to quit it, and that, as hitherto all his persuasions had failed, he felt unwilling to repeat them, or to force her inclinations. He had foreseen that all kinds of stratagems would be resorted to for

the purpose of making him display his hidden beauty, and had adopted a precaution which he trusted would effectually protect him against the artifices of the king, and those minions of the court who he knew, not less from a love of mischief than from a desire of accomplishing the king's will, would endeavour to thwart his intentions. For this purpose he had procured two rings, the exact counterparts of each other, one of which he had given to his countess, and the other he kept in his own possession. When he was about to quit his home he told her that he should perhaps, when at court be compelled to invite her thither, but he enjoined her to pay no attention to his letters, however importunately he might write, until she should receive one from him in which his ring should be inclosed. The young and innocent lady, who had always lived at a great distance from the court, who was happy in the love of her husband, and who found in his castle, situate in a remote part of Brittany, all the splendour she then desired, unhesitatingly promised him obedience. The count again appeared in Paris; and again encountered the half-jesting reproaches of Francis for not having brought his wife with him. He assured the king that her own wish alone kept her at home; and, in proof of his veracity, he offered to write in such terms as the king might dictate, a request that she would join him. Francis instantly accepted this offer, the letter was dispatched, but the ring not accompanying

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it, the count received from his lady such an answer as he expected, and this epistle he triumphantly produced to the king; thus for a time relieving himself from solicitations which his jealous fears rendered extremely irksome. The mischievous perseverance of some of the courtiers however, helped them to a discovery of his secret. He had a servant, whose fidelity and attachment had gained his entire confidence. This man, who had observed the extraordinary care which his master took of his ring, asked him the reason of his solicitude, and, to him the count did not hesitate to explain it, in the belief that it was of all things the least likely that he would ever divulge it. The servant was bribed by some persons about the court, for the purpose of gaining intelligence respecting the countess, and the story of the ring being known through his treachery, it was not difficult to get him to steal it. A skilful goldsmith made a fac-simile of the jewel with great dispatch, and the original, after a short absence, was placed where the count, who had been very much distressed at missing it, found it again, and believed he had merely mislaid it. He was then urged once more to write to the countess, which he did with unhesitating confidence. The false ring was inserted into his letter, and dispatched into Brittany, and his first knowledge of the fraud that had been practised upon him was derived from the sudden appearance of his obedient wife, who immediately upon the receipt of the letter

with the jewel had hastened to Paris. Here the romance of the story ends. The king saw the countess, and was struck with her beauty. She fell beneath the artifices which were employed for her ruin; and her husband retired to his castle to hide his misery and dishonour, in the scene of his former happiness, but which her frailty had now made a solitude. (a)

The power which his new mistress had gained over the king soon became apparent. She was too young, and knew too little of the practices of the world and of the court to care for the exercise of the extensive influence she possessed; but her more aspiring brothers directed it unscrupulously as their ambition prompted; and one of the first uses to which her power was applied had been the obtaining the government of Milan for her brother Lautrec. She became the head of a party, but was still a mere puppet in the hands of others, and proved, whenever she was deprived of their assistance, that she who had not wit enough to keep herself honest, was altogether unable to counteract the operations of the intriguing spirits which surrounded her. Among these the duchess d'Angoulême was the most powerful and important. She saw with jealousy and discontent the rival which Francis's passions had raised up against her; but she had too much cunning to oppose her openly, and tried rather to engage her assistance in her own plans than to thwart those of which others made the countess the instrument.

Influence
of the
countess
over the
king.

(a) Varillas, l. vi.

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Francis's
encourage-
ment of li-
terature.

Francis did not, however, lose sight in the indulgence of his passions, or in the pleasures with which his court abounded, of the true interests of his subjects. A love of literature had distinguished him from his earliest years. When he was yet a boy, François Tissard, a professor of the university, had dedicated to him a Hebrew grammar, the first that had been published in France; (a) and although the mere fact of the dedication would prove but little, there is elsewhere ample evidence that Francis had shewn so great an inclination for study, and had profited by it so well, as to justify the selection of the professor. The celebrated Balthasar Castiglione, the author of *Il Cortegiano*, (a book which, although, in the changes society has undergone, it is now forgotten, was then not quite undeservedly called the Golden Book,) when, at the court of Louis XII. shewed to the duke of Valois the first part of his work. The judicious criticism which Francis, young as he was, then passed upon the book, surprised and delighted Castiglione, who, in publishing the subsequent parts, acknowledged his obligations to the prince, and predicted the advancement of letters under his influence, a prophecy of which its author lived to see the entire fulfilment.

Learned
men and

Louis XII., notwithstanding the engrossing na-

(a) Tissard is said to have introduced the printing of Greek books into France, which he effected with the assistance of Gilles Courmont, a printer, by whom Greek and Hebrew types were cast for the first time at Paris.—Gaillard, t. v. p. 63.

ture of the political troubles which occupied the greater part of his busy reign, had not been insensible to the necessity and advantage of encouraging the progress of learning, and had earnestly and successfully engaged in facilitating it. He attracted to his court that learned Greek, John Lascaris, whose merit the magnificent Lorenzo de' Medici had first recognised, and whom he had employed to collect Greek manuscripts for the Florentine library. Louis conferred on him the more distinguished office of ambassador to Venice, and it was under his instruction that Budée and Danés, two of the most learned men of France, perfected their studies. He also secured the services of the learned Girolamo Aleandro, to whom he granted a pension of 500 crowns of gold, and who taught publicly the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages in France. His proficiency in learning may be ascertained by a lexicon which he published in 1512, and the estimation in which he was held, by the fact of its having been printed at the expense of his scholars. Aleandro received in the same year, *ex speciali gratia*, the degree of master of arts in the university of Paris. (a)

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state of literature in France.

(a) Aleandro's talents, however, raised him to higher honours; he was appointed by Leo X. the librarian to the Vatican, and was afterwards sent as the papal legate to the imperial court, for the avowed purpose of endeavouring to extirpate the heresies of Luther. The eloquent oration which he made on this occasion, has been given by Pallavicini, (l. xxv.) and its effect was so powerful as to draw upon the author the violent abuse of Luther, who, in the ex-

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The spirit of the times too was favourable to the advancement of letters. Some men of powerful genius had arisen, and the impulse they had given to learning and science, was communicated throughout Europe. Since the year 1470, the art of printing had been successfully practised in Paris, and its mighty influence had pervaded the whole kingdom. The fall of Constantinople, which had driven the most learned men into the more northern parts of Europe, and had compelled them to the active exercise of their talents, and the communication of the knowledge they possessed, as the means of their existence, had produced an effect which can hardly be conceived in the present state of the world, when wisdom may be truly said to "cry out in the streets." The illustrious house of Medici had made itself honoured throughout the world by the munificent protection which it had afforded to the persecuted foreigners, who came in utter destitution to implore charity; and the glorious example had been followed in every country which had knowledge and intelligence enough to profit by it.

Francis was as well disposed, as he was well qualified, to encourage the workings of the spirit which was abroad. His court could boast

ercise of that powerful and popular scurrility which made him so formidable a foe, accused him of being a Jew; for which charge there appears to be no other foundation than that which his perfect knowledge of the Hebrew language furnished.

of some of the most learned men of Europe. The estimable Etienne Poncher, bishop of Paris, who, under the most gentle manners, concealed that firmness and decision of character which are unquestionable marks of a great mind, although he had relinquished the office of chancellor, maintained, in the councils of Francis, the station to which his merit had elevated him in those of Louis XII. (*a*) Guillaume Petit, Guillaume Cop, (*b*) Pierre du Chatel, Jacques Colin, and Guillaume Pelissier, were selected by Francis, on his accession to the throne, as the objects of his patronage; a choice, which was as honourable to his discrimination as to their merit. The learned Guillaume Budée, whose talents had been buried in the obscurity which often surrounds modest merit, was sought out by Francis, and solicited to take that position in his court which his acquirements enabled him to fill so honourably and advantageously. His profound knowledge of Greek and Latin, and his facility in writing the latter language; his zeal for the advancement of learning, and his amiable and upright demeanour, secured for him the respect of his contemporaries, and placed him in competition with Erasmus. The Dutch

(*a*) Erasmus, whose praise is often as extravagant as his censure is unjust, says, he seemed to be inspired by heaven for the purpose of restoring letters and true piety.

(*b*) He was the most eminent physician of his day, and the first translator of the works of Hippocrates, Galen, and Paulus Æginetus.

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professor, if he possessed no greater learning than Budée, (and this opinion their mutual friends seem to have held,) had a more striking and popular style of displaying it. Budée was satisfied with being useful; Erasmus was not content unless he commanded loud applause, as well as esteem. Their rivalry, however, if such a competition may be so called, never interfered with the friendship of these learned men, of which Budée gave many disinterested proofs. Francis induced him to quit his retreat. He first made him *maitre des requêtes*, then *prevôt des marchands*, and afterwards his librarian. When he had occasion to send an ambassador to Rome, he selected Budée for this office, and thought he flattered Leo by sending to him a man, whose erudition and accomplishments must make him agreeable to the cultivated mind of the pontiff.

Francis proposes to found a royal college.

The study of languages was properly considered in the then state of literature, as the most important branch of learning, and to this Francis applied his attention. He proposed to found a royal college, for the express purpose of teaching Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, which were said to be wholly neglected in the university of Paris. (a)

(a) Galland, in his funeral oration upon Francis, speaks of the general ignorance of these subjects in terms, which, if they are not exaggerated, reflect the greatest disgrace on the university. He asks, whether before the time of Francis, it was known in France, that such a language as the Hebrew existed; and defies it to be proved, that there was a single

The execution of this plan was entrusted to Budée, who, with most honourable disinterestedness, warmly urged the king to place Erasmus at the head of the projected institution. Francis directed him to write to Erasmus, who, although he had withstood many brilliant offers, felt too much flattered, as well as tempted, to refuse it hastily. The other learned men of France earnestly seconded the request which Budée made to Erasmus in the king's name, and the admiration which his talents had inspired, may be best conceived from its being sufficient to neutralise the envy which the appearance of so formidable a stranger was likely to excite. Erasmus hesitated on receiving these invitations; but at length his independent temper revolted from the notion of living in a court, and he declined to change his free condition. He is said to have been encouraged in this refusal by Tunstal, then the English ambassador at Brussels, with whom Erasmus lived in habits of daily intimacy, and who, from a desire to gain the advantage of his friend's exertions for his own country, represented to him the opposition he would be likely to encounter in France from the intrigues of the theologians, by whom Erasmus believed he was hated as much as he had given them cause to do. He had already experienced some annoyances from the churchmen of Louvain, and determined not to ex-

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Erasmus is solicited to become its principal.

Frenchman who could read Greek, or write Latin.—Petr. Galland, *Orat. Funeb. Franc. I.* Gaillard, t. v. p. 79.

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pose himself to a recurrence of petty oppressions, in a country where he might possibly be less able to withstand them. He therefore positively declined Francis's offer, alleging as a reason, that his duty to the young king of Spain, from whom he then received a pension, precluded him from engaging in the service of any other monarch. Budée, however, persisted in his endeavours to effect the king's munificent designs, undeterred by the cold sneers of the courtiers, or by the more formidable opposition of the bigotted churchmen, who fancied they saw heresy in every attempt to relieve the human mind from the weakness and degradation into which ignorance had plunged it.

Francis's
private life.

Francis in the mean time did all that his influence and his example could effect in the furtherance of his design. The avocations of a monarch, even of one who is not as much addicted to pleasure as was Francis, do not afford much opportunity for study, which to be effectual, must be regular and unremitting; but he manifested on all occasions, an admiration and respect for learning, and an insatiable thirst for knowledge. The unanimous testimony of his cotemporaries proves that in all his enjoyments, intellectual pleasures held the first place. (*a*)

(*a*) "Nulla illi unquam cœna, nullum prandium, nulla statio aut ambulatio sine colloquiis et disputationibus litterariis peracta est: ut quicumque mensam ejus frequentarent . . . doctissimi et diligentissimi philosophi scholam frequentare arbitrarentur."—Petr. Galland. Orat. Funeb.

He was accompanied in all his excursions by men of learning, whose society gratified him, and whose conversation afforded him information. (*a*)

This part of Francis's conduct is so creditable to him, that the contemplation of it may be dwelt upon with pleasure. The laurels he had gathered at Marignan, flourished the more freshly for the noble uses to which he devoted some of his peaceful moments; and it had been happy for him and for his people, if such pursuits had occupied a greater portion of his thoughts. Still

(*a*) Thomas Herbert, secretary of the elector palatine Frederic II., in describing the entertainments of the king of France, speaks of them in terms of high eulogium, and says, that nothing in the course of his travels (and he had been in many countries of Europe) had struck him so forcibly as the table of Francis the First; and that among the learned men whom he heard converse there, he had derived greater pleasure and profit from none more than from Francis himself. Brantome describes these conversations in his own peculiar way: "Or, entre autres belles vertus que le roy eut, c'est qu'il fut fort grand amateur des lettres et gens savans, et des plus grands de son royaume, lesquels il entretenoit tousjours de discours très-grands et sçavans, leur en baillant la pluspart du temps les sujets et les themes. Et y estoit reçu qui venoit; mais, il ne falloit pas qu'il fut asne ny qu'il bronchast; car, il estoit bien-tost relevé de luy-mesme. Sur-tout il avoit Monsieur Chastellanus, très-docte personnage, sur qui le roy se rapportoit par-dessus tous les autres, quand il y alloit de quelque point difficile. De telle façon que la table du roy estoit une vraye escole; car, là il s'y traitoit de toutes matieres, autant de la guerre, (car il y avoit tousjours de grands capitaines, qui en sçavoient très-bien discourir avec luy, et ramentevoir tousjours les combats et guerres passés,) que des sciences hautes et basses."—t. vi. p. 289.

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they are enough to have secured for him a reputation which Charles, his envious and too successful rival in other things, could not dispute with him, and to have justly entitled him to the appellation which posterity has given him, of the Father of Letters in his own country.

The Parliament refuses to register the Concordat.

Francis found, shortly after his return to Paris, that the compact he had entered into with the Pope for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction was in the highest degree unpalatable to the people. The parliament of Paris, venal as it often was in the administration of justice between individuals, firmly opposed a measure which, they truly contended, was dangerous and inexpedient, and which destroyed the utility and independence of the clergy. They maintained that, under the system of elections to benefices, which the Pragmatic Sanction had established, the merit and capacity of the candidates were their most effectual recommendations; but that when the power of nominating to them should be vested in the king alone they might be open to disgraceful and injurious court intrigues; that the motives which churchmen had now to studious habits, to regularity of demeanour, to virtue and integrity, would be weakened, or destroyed, and that the church of France would become as licentious and as profligate as that of Italy. There was so much obvious weight in these objections that it was impossible to pass them over; and those who supported them met the more specious arguments of their opponents by

insisting that the litigation which ensued in consequence of appeals to Rome respecting the elections, and the expense consequent upon such proceedings, would, although they admitted them to be great evils, be incomparably less troublesome and injurious than those which must result from the Concordat.

The bishop of Tricarico, the Pope's nuncio, arrived in Paris while these objections were being loudly urged, and brought the king two papers under the leaden apostolic seal, the one of which contained the Concordat, which had been ratified by the council, and the other the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction, both of which he required to be registered by the parliament of Paris, in confirmation of the king's engagement.

Francis, who had perceived, not without uneasiness, the opposition, which had been set on foot in France to this measure, thought it prudent not to press the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction, but he went in person to the parliament for the purpose of having the Concordat registered. Several bishops, the chapter of the cathedral of Notre Dame, and the principals of the university, were there also present. The chancellor Du Prat opened the business by a long and able speech, in which he represented the Pragmatic Sanction as the sole cause of all the disagreements which had subsisted during the late reigns between the See of Rome and the kingdom of France, and which had produced results

Francis insists on the compliance of the Parliament.

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so fatal and so troublesome to France. He then explained the provisions of the Concordat, which he assured them the king had only been induced to enter into through an earnest desire of preserving the kingdom from a recurrence of those disagreements, injurious alike to the temporal and eternal interests of his people, and at the same time to secure to them all the advantages which they really derived from the Pragmatic Sanction.

The disputes which ensued between the king and the parliament.

The parliament retired for the purpose of deliberating on the proposition which had been made to them. The cardinal de Boisy, speaking in the name of the ecclesiastics then present, said the matter was one that concerned the whole Gallican church, which it ought therefore to be convened, before any steps were taken towards confirming the Concordat. Francis, who was too little used to contradiction to brook it readily, replied with some anger, that it was his will the Concordat should be registered, and that if the clergy disputed it, he would send them to the Pope, to dispute the matter with him. The president of the parliament said, in reply to the chancellor, that they would deliberate the matter, and would demean themselves so as to discharge their duty towards God and the king.

Francis, who was not satisfied with this temperate answer, ordered letters patent to be prepared, giving effect to the Concordat, and calling upon all the judges of the land to see to its execution, and sent a commission, consisting

of the constable, Jean d'Albret, seigneur d'Orval, and the chancellor, with a request that the parliament would forthwith register them. The parliament replied by their president, that they would deliberate and take the advice of their council. About a month afterwards the advocate-general, Le Lièvre, stated at length his objections to the Concordat on constitutional grounds, and applied for a committee, consisting of lawyers, to consider it. This committee was appointed, but Francis persisted in having the Concordat registered; and on the 26th of June, the Bastard of Savoy presented to the parliament a request from Francis so urgent that it amounted to a demand to that effect. The parliament sent their president to remonstrate with the king, that his uncle, for by that title the Bastard was then recognized in France, was no member of their body, and that it was to infringe their privileges to send him among them. Francis, in great anger, replied, that he knew there were two sorts of persons in the parliament, one who wished him and the state well, and the other who loved nothing so much as cabal; that he would make the latter fear, if they did not love, him; and with some threats, which meant little, he insisted on their deliberating, since deliberate they would, in the presence of his uncle.

To disobey this command was impossible, and, however reluctantly, the parliament discussed the measure in the presence of the lord of Savoy. After eleven days sitting, they came

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to the conclusion that they could not register the Concordat, because its provisions were at variance with the Pragmatic Sanction, which they were obliged to observe. They added that they should recognise the right of the university of Paris to appeal to them against any violation of that law ; and that if the king was determined to abolish it, he could not do so until he had called an assembly of the Gallican church, and obtained their sanction, because it was by them that it had first been established.

The king, who took this resolution to be, as it was, in direct opposition to his authority, ordered the parliament to send him a deputation from their body for the purpose of explaining to him the grounds on which they had formed it. Their deputies followed him to Amboise, where the court then was. They were treated with great indignity, kept a long time without an audience, and when they obtained it, Francis evinced his anger against them in the most unceremonious terms. He said he had seen their objections, and the answers which his chancellor had made to them, and that he considered the latter quite satisfactory. The deputies humbly requested to see these answers. Francis replied with asperity, that they should not ; reminded them that it was not an affair of a *procès-verbal*, and added, “ I will let you know that I am king in France, and that I will have no senate like that of Venice, to curb my power here. The duties of the parliament are simply to ad-

minister justice ; and it shall be my duty to see that they do not thwart, in France, the measures I have taken in Italy, to secure the welfare and peace of the country.”

The deputies were dismissed with most uncivil haste ; the king repeated his instances to the parliament to have the Concordat registered, and at length they complied, not however without inserting in their register a notification that it had been at the absolute and often repeated command of the king, and at the same time they made a formal protest that it was done without their sanction and against their will. The university of Paris complained of it to the parliament ; but of course without effect. From the professors' chairs, and from the pulpits, the most angry and unrestricted censures of the king and the court were pronounced ; and these at length became so scandalous, and the popular discontent was so powerfully excited, that Francis found it necessary to pass an edict reprehending the conduct of the members of the university, and forbidding them to discuss this or any other affair which had received the king's sanction, under pain of suppression and deprivation of all their privileges. The Concordat became, by these violent measures, a part of the law ; but constant attempts were made to evade it, which the courts of justice seconded so powerfully, that Francis found he had incurred great public odium without even gaining the benefit he had proposed to himself.

The Concordat is registered by the king's command. Consequent discontents.

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Troubles
at Milan.

Trivulzio
is disgrac-
ed by
means of
Lautrec.

The affairs of his Italian dominions had now too fallen into such disorder as to require prompt and careful attention. The countess de Chateaubriant's brother, the marshal Lautrec, had so conducted himself in the administration of the government of Milan, which she had procured for him, as to fill the country with discontent and dissension, and to increase the natural dislike which the people of the Milanese felt for the French nation; but it was his behaviour to the marshal Trivulzio that rendered him the most unpopular. That veteran general, who was descended from one of the first families in Lombardy, had been induced to join the French army of Charles VIII., for the purpose of ridding the country of the tyrannous Ludovico Sforza. His fidelity to the cause he had pledged himself to support, had never been questioned, while his valour and skill had been proved in all the battles that had since taken place. He had formerly held the government of Milan, and universally enjoyed the respect and affection of the people. This well earned popularity, and his great wealth, which enabled him to live in a magnificent style, excited the envy of Lautrec, who, in his letters to the court, designated him as the head of a faction opposed to the authority of France, which, if it were not put down, might endanger the government. The pernicious influence of the countess de Chateaubriant gave all the weight which the writer intended they should

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have to these malicious slanders, and the news of the king's displeasure soon reached the aged marshal. That prompt fire which had so often led less daring spirits to victory, was not extinguished in him. His honour was wounded; and, at the age of eighty years, in the midst of a rigorous winter, he posted across the frozen Alps to vindicate himself from the unmerited imputation which had been cast upon him by his enemies. When he arrived at the court he solicited an interview with the king, but this request being refused, he had himself carried in a chair, his infirmities rendering him incapable of any other exertion, to a spot which he knew the king must pass by in his way to mass. As Francis approached, the veteran cried, "Sire, a man who has risked his life for you and your ancestors, in eighteen pitched battles, craves one moment's audience." Francis looked at him, and recognised the venerable hero; but had the cruelty to pass onward without vouchsafing a reply. This was more than the disappointed soldier could bear, he was carried home and put to bed, which he never quitted alive. Francis, whose disposition was not cruel, but whose mind had been poisoned by the industrious calumnies of Lautrec and his sister, could not endure the reflection of the inhumanity with which he had treated so faithful an adherent, and so noble a warrior, and when he heard of the marshal's illness, he sent to him for the purpose of excusing his conduct. "I am

Arrives in
Paris.

Heath.

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very sensible of the king's goodness," replied the dying marshal, "but I have felt his severity (*a*) no less acutely. It is too late now." He died almost immediately afterwards, leaving to Francis the bitter regret of having sacrificed one of his best subjects to the intrigues of a profligate courtesan, and to the ambition of a man who envied the virtues which he could not emulate.

The news of Trivulzio's death completed the unfavourable impression which Lautrec had made upon the people he governed. The appointment of his brother, Lescun, to the dignity of marshal, which Trivulzio had held, increased their disgust, and laid the foundation for those

(*a*) Brantome gives an account of his death, which, if it be true, would induce the belief that the old man's intellects were unsettled. He says that Trivulzio, having been told by some *philosophers*, that the foul fiends have a horror of naked swords, and flee in great terror when they see them brandished and glittering in the air; and that, therefore, when he knew he was about to die he had his sword laid beside him on the bed, and used the handle of it instead of a cross.—“*Afin que cependant qu'elle renvoyeroit les diables, luy voyans ainsi en la main, et ayans peur, ils ne s'approchassent de luy pour luy enlever et emporter son ame avec eux; et, par ainsi, que ne s'osans approcher de luy, elle eust loisir de s'eschapper et passer par la porte de derriere, et s'envoler visite en paradis.*” And he adds, “*l'invention et la ruse n'en eust pas esté mauvaise, s'il eust peu tromper de cette façon ces messieurs les diables, qui se meslent de tromper les pauvres humains.*”—t. v. p. 253. Trivulzio's corpse was taken after his death to Milan, in pursuance of his last wishes, and an inscription placed upon his tomb, which well enough described the restless course of his past life—

“*Hic quiescit, qui nunquam quievit.*”

disturbances which afterwards broke out in the Milanese, and caused so ruinous a series of disappointments—so indelible a disgrace to France.

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Francis's most formidable enemy, as it now appeared, was Henry VIII., who was not only in possession of the strong frontier town of Tournay, but whose supposed inclination for war made him a dangerous neighbour. The French king, determined, if possible, to gain his alliance, with a view of ultimately obtaining possession of Tournay; and for this purpose addressed himself to cardinal Wolsey, whose influence had long been seen to be paramount in England, and upon whose vanity and avarice he worked by expressions of respect and esteem, and by the more substantial inducements of large bribes. Wolsey exchanged his troublesome and unproductive bishoprick of Tournay for a pension of 12,000 livres,^(a) which Francis granted him; and in return for this munificence the Cardinal so ingeniously and effectually prepared Henry's mind for the proposition which the French king was about to make to him, that before the ambassadors from France arrived at the English court the negociation might be said to be in a forward state.

Francis solicits the friendship of Henry VIII.

Francis had entrusted this commission to Bonnavet, the companion of his childhood, for whom he had always entertained a strong affection, and on whom he had recently conferred the office of admiral of France. Gouffier de Boisy,

Bonnavet's embassy to England.

(a) Fiddes's Wolsey, Coll. No. 31, B. 11.

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and Estienne de Poncher, bishop of Paris, were associated with him ; and although it is more than probable that the success of the negociation was properly to be attributed to them, the more dazzling qualities of Bonnivet, and the king's favour, gained for him all the reputation that was attached to it. This embassy arrived in England on the last day of September, (1518) with a retinue, the splendour and extent of which appears to have excited more surprise than admiration. It was not thought consistent with diplomatic decorum that the true object of the mission should be avowed, and therefore the first proposition was for a general league of all Christian princes against the Turk, of which the Pope had been the projector ; and the honour of putting it into practice Francis offered to share with the king of England, reserving an opportunity for other potentates afterwards to concur in it. This being agreed to, the other and more important part of the negociation was entered upon, by which Francis stipulated that his son, then a few months old, should marry the princess Mary, the daughter of Henry, with whom the latter monarch promised to give a dowry of 333,000 crowns. The restoration of Tournay, Mortaigne, and Saint Amand, formed a separate article of the treaty, and these Henry proposed to deliver on being reimbursed 600,000 crowns, (subject to the deduction of the princess's dowry,) for payment of which, as the money was not immediately at hand, Francis offered hostages.

Terms of
the treaty.

The ceremony of betrothing on the part of the princess was performed in St. Paul's Cathedral; and the earl of Worcester, accompanied by the bishop of Ely, with such a train as matched that of the French ambassador, went to Paris to witness a corresponding ceremony, which Francis performed on the part of his son, to receive the hostages (*a*) and to deliver up possession of Tournay pursuant to the treaty. (*b*)

(*a*) They were eight in number, all of noble families, and appear to have been the lords de Morette, de Mouy, de la Meilleraye, de Montpezat, de Melun, de Mortemart, de Grimault, de Montmorenci, de la Rochepot, and de Hugueville.

(*b*) This measure was extremely unpopular in England. The earl of Worcester, who had been at the taking of Tournay, executed his commission with evident reluctance, and the inconvenience which it occasioned to such of the English as had taken up their abode there, may be easily imagined. Hall's description of this matter is very striking. After stating the refusal of the earl to give up the city until the lord Chatillon's commission to receive it was delivered to him, together with a sealed indenture, acknowledging that he received the city as a gift, and not as a right, a stipulation at which the French officers were extremely indignant, he proceeds: "The French captaynes perceavyng that yf they disagreed at the daye, that doubttes might followe, wherfore they sent their commission, and sealed their indenture, and sent it likewise in the mornynge, and came forward with their banners displayed. Whereof hearing the earle, he sent woorde that the citee was neither yelded nor gotten, but delyvered for confederacyon of mariage, and therefore they should not entre with banners displayed. Then wer the Frenchemen angry, but ther was no remedy but to rolle up their staunderds and banners. And when thei came to the gates there their commission and indenture

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Cession of
Tournay.

Francis restored Tournay, and Théroouanne, which had been destroyed by the English in 1513, to their former condition, while he still endeavoured to keep up the good feeling with which he believed he had inspired Henry and his minister, and by means of which he hoped one day effectually to protect his realm against attacks from England, by obtaining the restitution of Calais. In the meantime, and in furtherance of another part of the same plan, he occupied himself with strengthening the fortifications of Havre de Grace.

The Pope
proposes a
crusade,
which
Francis
undertakes
to lead.

His success, the perfect tranquillity of his own country, the alliances he had formed with the most potent of the European states, and particularly the last, increased the estimation in which he was held. His warlike talents had never been questioned, but he had now shewn that as a statesman he was not less worthy of the distinguished rank he held. The Pope proposed to him a war against Selim, the emperor of the Turks, whose rapid success had made him a most formidable neighbour. The cardinal Bibiena represented with much eloquence,

were solemnly read openly ; and then the Frenchmen entred with drums and minstrelsy, without any banner : and then to Monsire Castileon was delivered the castle, and there he ordeined watche and warde in every parte. Thus was the citee of Turnay delivered the eight daye of Februarye in the X yere of the reigne of the king, *and many a tall yoman that lacked livyng fel to robyng, which would not labor after their return.*—Hall, f. 67.

and with little exaggeration, the power which the Turk had recently gained, the naval force which he was equipping on the coast opposite to Otranto, and the peril to which Germany or Italy would be exposed if the Moslem should turn his savage troops, flushed as they were with victory, upon countries which offered them a rich and an easy prey. To a spirit like that of Francis, such a representation could not be addressed in vain. His enthusiasm was fired; his people shared the excitement; the prayers and the contributions of the devout were readily offered, the ardent and warlike youth of France volunteered to join the army, and Francis undertook to lead in person a large force upon this new crusade, which would have been distinguished from all that had preceded it, in being undertaken for the protection, if not for the defence, of Europe. Before however any serious preparations had been made for this enterprise, Selim died, and the terror being at an end, all thoughts of the crusade were for the present dropped.

The death of Selim stops the proposed crusade.

An expedition, which was directed in pursuance of the treaty between France and Denmark, against Sweden, with which country the French ally was engaged in an unjust war, met with as disastrous a termination as it deserved. The Swedes had made a desperate attempt to shake off the yoke of Christiern II. whose cruelty and despotism had made any evil preferable to a further continuance of it. The aid

Disastrous expedition to Denmark.

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which Francis furnished to Christiern consisted of 2,000 foot, under the command of the prince de Fouquarmont and other captains of great experience and known valour. At first they drove the Swedes before them; but the rigours of the climate, to which the French troops were wholly unaccustomed, the pertinacious resistance of the hardy people who were opposed to them, and the treachery of the Danes, frustrated their efforts. In an engagement which took place on a frozen lake, they were cut to pieces, and of their whole force less than 300 returned to France, all of whom were in a state of utter misery. (*a*)

Charles
endeavours
to procure
the investiture of
Naples,
and to be
crowned
king of the
Romans.

The conduct of the young Spanish monarch at this period roused the jealousy of Francis, and gave some indication of the ambitious projects which he afterwards executed, by an attempt to unite the Neapolitan crown with his own, and to prepare the way for the assumption at some future day of the imperial dignity. He applied to Leo for a grant of the investiture of Naples, of which the pontiff claimed to be the feudal sovereign, and at the same time prayed to be recognised as king of the Romans. Leo communicated these requests to Francis, who vehemently objected against their being complied with, and the Pope, for the present, evaded the difficulty of a direct refusal, by representing that Maximilian, through whom Charles claimed, had never yet

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. i.

been crowned emperor, and that it would be contrary to the Germanic constitution, to recognise, as king of the Romans, the presumptive heir of a monarch, whose title to the empire was yet incomplete. Maximilian had been for some years endeavouring to raise money both from Francis and Henry VIII. by an offer to surrender what he called his claims on Italy, and which consisted of nothing less than a design he had formed for reducing all the states of Germany and Italy under one dominion; but finding that his offers had been treated with no more seriousness than they deserved, he was now ready to favour his grandson's views. He expressed his readiness to receive the imperial crown, and joined Charles in soliciting the Pope to send it to him at Vienna, by the hands of a nuncio. The Pope, however, unequivocally declined to comply with this request, on the ground that it was contrary to custom, and would be inconsistent with the dignity of the holy see. He at the same time invited the emperor to Rome, having first ascertained that Francis would oppose his progress if he ventured to enter Italy in arms, and to come without the escort of an army he knew would have been too hazardous a step. (a) Instigated by Charles, who pursued his scheme with a pertinacity that nothing could check, Maximilian did, however, prepare for a journey to Rome, and intimated his intention to the

(a) *Lettere di Principi*, t. i. p. 56. Roscoe's *Leo X.*, vol. iii. p. 379.

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Death of
Maximi-
lian.

Pope, who was relieved from the embarrassment which such a visit must have occasioned by the death of the emperor, which took place at Lintz, in Austria, on the 15th of January, 1519, somewhat suddenly, and, as it was said, in consequence of a medicine having been administered to him by mistake.

His cha-
racter.

The character of Maximilian was so full of weaknesses and contradictions that some doubts may be reasonably entertained of the soundness of his intellect. There was however nothing odious or cruel in his conduct; he had an invincible animosity against the French nation, which his frequent want of money alone induced him to forego. The circumstance the most honourable to his memory is the persevering energy and success with which he extirpated the dangerous and unjust system of the secret tribunals which had before his time existed without check in Germany, and which exercised, with frightful and mysterious despotism, a power beyond the laws. He was a lover, and, to some extent, an encourager of the fine arts. His spare time, Lord Herbert says, he employed in poetry, and wrote the history of his life in Dutch verse. (*a*) At one

(*a*) This statement is not quite correct. The circumstances to which it refers are explained by Mr. Roscoe. "The life and achievements of Maximilian have been ostentatiously represented in a series of engravings, designed under his own inspection by Hans Burgmair, and executed in wood by the best artists of the time. They are accompanied by descriptions, dictated by Maximilian himself to

time he is believed to have entertained serious thoughts of offering himself as a candidate for the popedom, and it was upon this occasion that he wrote in exquisitely bad French, and with a humour which its gravity makes perfectly irresistible, a very curious letter to his daughter, the lady regent of the Low Countries. (a) His

his secretary, Mark Trietzaurwein. The various employments of Maximilian, his marriages, his battles, and his treaties, are exhibited in a greater number of prints than would have sufficed for the labours of Hercules, or the conquests of Alexander the Great; but his hunters, his hawkers, his tournaments, and his buffoons, occupy the principal part of the work. This collection he denominates his triumph. “Ce triumphe à été à la louange e la mémoire éternelle des plaisirs nobles et des victoires glorieuses du serenissime et tres illustre prince et seigneur Maximilien, élu empereur Romain et chef de la Chretienne, roi et heretier de sept royaumes Chretiens, archiduc d’Autriche, duc de Bourgogne, et d’autres grand principautés et provinces de l’Europe, &c.” The original blocks, or engravings in wood, have only been of late years discovered, and the work was published in 1796, in large folio.

(a) The following is the letter: “Tres chere et tres amée fille, je entendu l’avis que vous m’avez donné par Guillain Pingun notre garde-robbe ayées, dont nous avons encore pensé dessus, et ne trouvons point pour nulle résun bon, que nous nous devons franchement marier, mais avons plus avant mis notre déliberation et volonté de jamais plus hanter faem nue; et envoyons demain M. de Gurec, eveque à Rome devant le Pape, pour trouver fachon que nous puysun accorder avec ly de nous prendre pour ung coadjuteur, afin qu’après sa mort pouvons estre assureé de avoer le papat, et devenir Prestre, et après estre Saint; etque yl vous sera de nécessité, que après ma mort vous serez contraint de me adorer, dont je me trouverai bien glorifioes. . . Je commence à pratiquer les cardinaux dont iic. ou iiic. mille ducas me

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notions on this subject, and the manner in which he proposed to carry them into execution, justify what Julius II. said respecting him ; that the cardinals and the electors had made mutual mistakes ; for that the conclave should have made Maximilian Pope, and the electors should have chosen him (Julius) to be their emperor.

Maximilian might at any time have been withdrawn from the great political theatre of Europe, without his personal loss being much felt ; but the contest which the election to the imperial dignity, vacant by his death, occasioned, was the beginning of a series of events that gave the tone and character to the ensuing age.

feront un grand service, avec la partialité qui est déjà entre eos... Je vous prie, tenez cette matiere en secret ; aussi bien en briefs jours, je crains que y faut que tout le monde le sache, car bien mal est il possible de pratiquer ung tel si grand matere secrettement, pour la quelle il faut avoer de tant de gens, et de argent, succurs, pratique : et à Dieu. Fact de la main de votre bon pere, *Maximilianus futur Pape*, le xviii. jour de Septembre.”

CHAP. V.

Competition for the Empire—The pretensions of Henry VIII.—Of Charles—And of Francis—Proceedings of the several Claimants—Francis quarrels with Robert de la Mark, who thereupon favours Charles—The adventurer Sickinghen, his character—Being distrusted by Francis, he quarrels with him, and espouses the party of Charles—Charles exerts himself successfully to gain friends—Diet of Frankfort—Charles is elected Emperor—Birth of Francis' second son—Henry VIII. is godfather—Proposals for a meeting between Francis and Henry—The emperor visits England—The meeting between the kings of France and England at the Field of Cloth of Gold—Francis and Charles agree to leave to Henry the settlement of their differences—Accident which befalls Francis—The rise of the Reformation in Germany—Sale of Indulgences—Luther preaches and writes against them—Controversies on the subject—Luther summoned to Augsburg—Defends his propositions before the Papal Nuncio—Disputes with Eccius—The emperor summons Luther to the Diet at Worms—His appearance and conduct there—Is condemned by the emperor, and put under ban—He refuses to retract—Returns to Wittemberg—On his journey he is seized, by order of the elector of Saxony, and conveyed for safety to the Warteburg—He writes in favour of the Reformation—Translates and publishes the New Testament.

CHAPTER V.

THE death of Maximilian, by leaving vacant the dignity of emperor, opened a wide field to the ambition of the various European potentates. While there was no positive principle upon which the pretensions of any of them could be excluded, the power and authority of which, in able hands, this title might be made the source, were sufficient to rouse the aspiring hopes of every independent sovereign. It was soon however, apparent that the competition would be between the kings of England, Spain, and France.

Henry had been solicited by Maximilian, in his lifetime, to accede to the dignity (*a*) which the emperor affected to be willing to resign; but he had wisely distrusted the offer; and although there is some reason to believe that he would afterwards have willingly changed that determination, (*b*) his influence on the continent was so in-

1519.
Competition for the empire.

The pretensions of Henry VIII.

(*a*) This offer is contained in a letter of the 17th of May, 1516, by Sir Richard Wingfield, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the emperor, in which Maximilian is stated to have suggested a plan, by which Henry might make himself master of Milan, “where,” says the emperor, “when he hath tarried a season, I will in his company pass to Rome, where he shall be crowned emperor.”—Fiddes’s *Wolsey*, p. 123.

(*b*) When Pace announced Henry’s pretensions, the ecclesiastical electors told him, that if they had been earlier pursued, he might have been elected, but that now they were pre-engaged.—Turner’s *Henry VIII.*, vol. i. p. 209.

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V.

Of Charles,

considerable, (notwithstanding the indefatigable intrigues of Wolsey's master mind,) that there was little probability of his engaging the votes of any of the electors. Charles's natural affinity to the late emperor appeared to stand him in little stead, for, the title being elective, hereditary pretensions, however direct, could not be brought to apply to it. The obscurity of his education, and the habits of his life, since his accession to the throne of Spain, had not been calculated to excite much of the attention of the electors, to whom, but for the attempts which Maximilian had made to have him crowned, he would have been wholly unknown. In war he was a perfect novice; and in such political treaties as he had hitherto made with other European powers, he had shewn himself to be rather actuated by a desire to provide for his own security, than to extend his power. He was the possessor of extensive dominions, but France lay between Spain and the Low Countries; and his quiet possession of either branch of his empire, appeared to depend upon the duration of his amity with the French king, while the seeds of revolt seemed to be sown in Spain, and both Naples and Navarre might turn out fruitful subjects of contention. Francis, on the other hand, had long aspired to the title of emperor, and had taken little pains to conceal his designs. It was for their accomplishment that he had forborne to visit upon the Pope, whose influence

and of
Francis.

he foresaw might one day be serviceable to him, the punishment which the Pontiff's repeated perfidies, and uniform want of sincerity had provoked; and the same reasons had induced him to cultivate, whenever the opportunity had offered, the good will of the electors, a majority of whom had promised him their votes. His personal pretensions too, were of no inconsiderable description. He had been on the throne of France for more than four years, during which period all his undertakings had been successful. The dazzling splendour of his victories yet influenced the public mind, his munificence, his encouragement of science and arts, his mild and paternal government, his chivalrous spirit, his graceful and affable demeanour, had "bought golden opinions from all kinds of men," and had procured him a reputation for greater virtues than he possessed, while those defects in his character, which forced themselves upon the general observation, were extenuated on the score of his youth, or forgotten because of that avowed licentiousness which, in the higher classes at least, was then too common to excite very severe reprobation.

It was not without reason therefore, that Francis believed he should triumph over Charles, who was his only real competitor; and that he expressed this belief in confident terms. (a) He did not

The proceedings of the candidates.

(a) Some of the correspondence on this subject, selected from the MSS. Cott., will be found in Ellis's Original Letters, vol. i. p. 146, &c.

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V.

however, relax in his pursuit of the measures best calculated to insure his success; nor did he undervalue the pretensions of his opponent. "Your master and I are rivals, it is true," he said to the Spanish ambassadors, "but we are not therefore enemies. We are the lovers of the same mistress; whom we must seek to win with ardour, but still tenderly and respectfully; and there is no need that the slightest animosity should mingle in our contest."

Francis
commits
the ma-
nagement
of his in-
terests to
Bonnivet.

To Bonnivet, of whose attachment to his person and his interests he was convinced, and whose prosperous mission to England had given him a reputation for diplomatic talent, for which he was more indebted to chance than to his own skill, he committed the management of this important affair. D'Albret d'Orval, who was really entitled to that fame which Bonnivet enjoyed, and the marquis de Fleuranges, whose knowledge of the affairs of Germany made his assistance extremely valuable, were associated with the admiral, and a sum of 400,000 crowns placed at their disposal, to be distributed among the electoral princes, whose poverty and rapacity laid them extremely open to this temptation. He endeavoured also to gain the interest of such of the foreign powers as were likely to influence their suffrages. The Pope, whose policy it was to prevent the election of either of the competitors, affected to prove his gratitude and attachment to Francis, by promoting his interests; which, however, he secretly traversed in the hope that

after the king of France and Charles should both be defeated, the former would aid his holiness's views in fixing the imperial crown on the head of some less potent prince, from whom Italy would have nothing to fear. Henry of England, who had unequivocally promised Francis his support, behaved to him with still greater duplicity, by surreptitiously giving it to Charles. (a) The state of Venice adhered to

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(a) The detection of this fraud is mentioned in a letter of Sir Thomas Boleyn to cardinal Wolsey, March 25th, 1519; in which he relates an audience he had lately had with the duchess d' Angoulême, in the absence of Francis, who had gone from Paris during his queen's confinement. From the manner in which the communication was made to the English ambassador, there is little reason to doubt the impression which the discovery had made on the mind of Francis, notwithstanding the courtly turn which the duchess gives to it, and her apparent belief in Henry's sincerity. The letter is, in every respect, a curious one: "My lady toold me that the king her sonne whan he departed, willed her to shew me a letter that came now streyt out of Spayn, from his ambassadour there, and therewithall she called to her the tresourer Robertet, and bad hym shewe me that letter, wherein was wrytten by the said ambassador whose name is de la Roche Beauconot, that the king's highnesse had late sent a lettre to the king Catholique, advertysyng hym how the king here had desired the king's highnesse by his letters to write to th'ellectowrs of th'empire in his favour, the rather to atteyn the dygnyte of th'empire; the which the king's highnesse hath refused bicause of the amytye betwixt the king's grace and the king Catholique, and how the king's highnesse had rather that the king Catholique wer emperowr than the king here; which lettre he wryteth is in th'andes of the bishop of Bourges, oon of the great counsell of Spayn. When I had redde this clawse in the lettre sent

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the spirit of its alliance with France, and openly and earnestly promoted the claims of its monarchs. The king of Poland, whom Francis had solicited by his envoy Langeac to favour his views, expressed his intention of adopting the course which Louis, king of Hungary, should resolve upon. The latter declared at once for Charles, not only on account of the recent alliance between their families by the marriage of his sister with the archduke Ferdinand, but because the danger, which he had too much reason to apprehend from Turkey would be lessened by the support of an emperor of the house of Austria, whose contiguous dominions engaged him as in a common cause to repel the threatened irruption. The Helvetic states too, who would have been well pleased to see neither of the candidates succeed, declined to interfere in favour of either; and the other powers of Europe, whose combination might have influenced the election, seemed to be too little

out of Spayn, I prayed my lady that she wold gyve noo credence to yt, and shewed her how I thought that the said ambassador wrote this by informacion of some maliciouse personne that wold sett discord betwixt princes; and that I assured her it was not twew. She toold me that she had soo perfecte trust in the kyng my master's honnor that she beleved, nor wold beleve, noo such thing; and no more she sayeth woll the king her sonne: saying that whan the King here redde the same clause in the lettre wrytten to hym by his ambassadour in Spayn he did but lawgh at it, and gave no credence thereto. And she saied it cowlde not be trewe." MSS. Cal. D. vii. fol. 105. Ellis, vol. i. p. 151.

impressed with the importance of an event which was so calculated to affect their several interests.

The activity of Charles in the meantime was incessantly, though silently exerted, and some accidents which could not perhaps have been calculated upon, some omissions which were made involuntarily, aided his designs while they exerted a fatal influence on those of Francis. The queen dowager of Spain, Germaine de Foix, who felt that she was neglected, and who feared that she might possibly experience still worse treatment from Charles, upon whose regard her claims were not of the strongest kind, had made some representations to the court of France, to which she naturally looked for support and protection. Her requests had been disregarded, and the disappointment and mortification which were naturally produced in her mind by such an event, induced her to speak in no measured language of the king of France, who had overlooked alike the maxims of good policy and of right feeling, in deserting her interests. The expressions of her discontent were eagerly caught up, and Charles, whose greatest good fortune consisted in availing himself of the errors which his thoughtless rival committed, made the queen dowager a powerful instrument in favour of his designs, by extending to her his regard and protection. He married her to Casimir, who was brother of the elector of Brandenburg and of the bishop of Mayence, two of the most influential persons in the diet which was about to assemble. The match

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Charles forms useful connexions and strengthens his party.

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was not a splendid one for a queen of Spain ; but Germaine had expressed some impatience at the monotonous life to which the death of her late husband had condemned her, (a) and was delighted to change the solitary grandeur of her nominal royalty for the more solid comfort of an union with a husband, who, although only a younger brother of the house of Brandenburg, was of her own age.

Francis
quarrels
with Ro-
bert de
la Mark,
who takes
part with
Charles.

A more fatal fault was that which drove Robert de la Mark, lord of Sedan, and his brother the bishop of Liege, from the interests of France. The first, who had distinguished himself as one of the bravest men of his day, and who was the father, among other sons worthy of such a parent, of the marquis de Fleuranges, had been disgusted by having his company cashiered, and his pensions ill paid through the influence of the duchess d'Angoulême, who detested him because he had been one of the partisans of the late queen Anne. The bishop of Liège was a candidate for a cardinal's hat, which the king, who knew his value, had warmly solicited for him. The duchess wrote to the Pope, assuring him that the king's request was only made to

(a) This queen found it easier to console herself for the death of Ferdinand than suitably to supply his loss. When she first saw the French ambassador, she eagerly asked after the duchess d'Angoulême, and whether she was about to be married again. "Les femmes de notre rang sont à plaindre," she added ; trop élevées par un premier mariage, elles ne peuvent que descendre en faveur d'un second, et leur gloire en souffre."—Gaillard, t. i.

keep up appearances with the bishop of Liége, and that he was at heart desirous that the bishop of Bourges (brother of the treasurer, and one of her own creatures,) should be preferred. The Pope believed her, Bohier was made cardinal, and on a friend of the bishop of Liége remonstrating at the court of Rome on the little respect that was paid to the king's request, Bembo, who was then secretary, produced the duchess's letter. The king, when he learnt the fraud that had been practised, indignantly disavowed all participation in it; but it was then too late. The bishop had in disgust embraced the cause of the king of Spain, and had induced his brother to follow the same course, and thus Francis lost, while Charles gained, two most valuable adherents.

One of the consequences of their defection was, that it induced another individual, whose services Francis had neglected to secure when he might have done so, to espouse the party of Charles. Francis Sickinghen was one of those extraordinary spirits who seem born for the purpose of proving what individual activity and genius can achieve. He was a gentleman of Germany, of small fortune, and obscure family, but by his courage, his eloquence, and his intelligence, he had raised himself to a position of great importance. He was acquainted with all the influential persons of Germany, and had engaged most of them in his interests. His exploits would seem a fitter subject for romance than for history; but that history is sometimes the

The ad-
venturer
Sicking-
hen.

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most marvellous kind of romance. He had raised a small force, which he kept constantly on foot, and with which he carried on war against the emperor, and such of the independent states as had not engaged his alliance. He traversed Germany with a rapidity which defied pursuit. At different periods he had attacked the duke of Lorraine, the burghers of Metz, the landgrave of Hesse, and had reduced them severally to pay him tributes. When a force with which he could not cope was directed against him, he and his army disappeared, until, by his intrigues, he had provoked the attack of some more powerful enemy against the emperor, and thus drawn off his resentment from himself, when he returned with unabated resolution to the prosecution of his former designs. Fleuranges, who knew his value, presented him to Francis, as a man whose assistance might be made of the greatest service in effecting his projects upon the empire. The king was struck with the extraordinary talents which the German displayed, treated him with great distinction, granted him a pension of one thousand crowns, and made presents to the train of gentlemen whom Sickinghen always led with him, and who, in point of birth and fortune, were infinitely his superiors. Francis, however, kept up towards him a reserve which wounded the pride of this haughty adventurer. He engaged him to serve in Germany, but he did not think fit to explain to him the real point at which he aimed. Sickinghen, before he de-

parted, told his friend Fleuranges, that he was grateful for the generosity, and delighted with the reception he had met with from the king, to whom he promised to devote his best services against all the world, excepting only the house of la Mark, to whom he was under indelible obligations. "But he does not know me," he added, "if he thinks that I am more easily to be attached to him by his bounty than by his confidence. I see through his plans, although he and you have thought fit not to avow them: he aims at the empire. I demanded certain troops from him, and he has refused my request; he thought, perhaps, I wanted them for myself; but they were solely for the purpose of gaining for him a body of German gentlemen. Tell him that he will never be well served but by simple gentlemen such as I am. If he deals with princes and electors they will take his money and deceive him afterwards." Sickinghen returned to Germany, and exercised again the free warfare to which he was accustomed. Some traders of Germany who had been unjustly dealt with by certain Milan merchants, applied to him for assistance, and he did them right by seizing property of the value of 25,000 francs belonging to the Milaners. The latter carried their complaints to Francis as their liege lord, and he demanded restitution from Sickinghen, who replied, that when the Germans under his protection should have had justice done to them, he would give up the ef-

Quarrels
with Fran-
cis, and
espouses
the side of
the King
of Spain.

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fects he had seized. The king's council, who had no notion of the sort of man they had to deal with, punished the haughtiness of his answer by suspending his pension, and Sickinghen, thus freed from his engagements with Francis, became a party to those which his friends of the house of la Mark had formed with the king of Spain. He afterwards put himself at the head of a body of Suabian troops, whose services Francis might have secured, but neglected, and his presence with this force in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, when the diet was assembled there, was believed to have contributed, in no small degree, to influence the election.

Charles
exerts him-
self to gain
friends.

While Francis thus neglected some of the most obvious means of strengthening his party, Charles was secretly, but most earnestly employed in securing adherents. That obscurity which his opponents thought was his greatest disadvantage he had the skill to turn to profit. The German princes loved their own independence too well to name to the imperial dignity one whose power, seconding his ambition, might have reduced them to the condition of his vassals. Next to this, their chief object was to have elected a monarch whose interest it would be to repel the threatened invasion of the Turk, at whose power all Europe was appalled. In both these respects Charles was powerfully recommended to them; but although he was fully aware of the ascendancy which on these grounds

he possessed, he neglected no opportunity of gaining by large bribes, and by still larger promises, such of the electors as were accessible on those points, and threats were not spared with such of the smaller powers as, if they had any inclination to oppose his will, were in no situation to provoke his enmity. (*a*) An occasion offered at the same time, of shewing his determined hostility against the Turks, of which he took a prompt and judicious advantage. Some Mahometan corsairs had been scouring the Mediterranean, to the great terror of the merchants, and the serious injury of the commerce of the Italian states. Their enterprises had been so successful, and had continued so long unchecked, that fears lest they should make an attack upon the shores of Italy, were very commonly, and not unreasonably entertained. The Pope, who partook of these fears, and who was besides extremely jealous of the naval force which Charles had long been sedulously preparing, earnestly besought him to attack the corsairs. Charles immediately ordered his galleys to sea, under the command of Ugo de Moncada, viceroy of Sicily, who pursued the Mussulmen with such vigour, that he cleared the Mediterranean of them; and this before an expedition which Francis had fitted out for the same purpose, and which Pietro da Navarra headed, had got afloat. (*b*)

Obtains a victory at sea over some Turkish corsairs.

(*a*) Guicciardini, l. xiii. Sleidan, Hist. of the Reformation, xiv. Struvii Corp. Hist. Germ., ii. 97.

(*b*) It is clear that Francis had promised to make war

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The diet
of Frank-
fort.

Things were in this position, when in the middle of June the electoral diet was convened in the accustomed form at Frankfort. The seven electors, in whom the right of nominating to the empire was vested, were, Albert of Brandenburg, archbishop of Mayence; Herman, count de Wied, archbishop of Cologne; Richard de Grieffenklaue, archbishop of Treves; Louis, king of Bohemia; Louis, count palatine of the Rhine; Frederick, duke of Saxony; and Joachim, mar-

upon the Turks, and that he had used this pretence for the purpose of soliciting the assistance of Henry VIII. in his election. In a letter of Sir Thomas Boleyn to Wolsey, of the 28th Feb. 1519, (MSS. Cotton. Calig. D. viii. fol. 88.) he details a conversation with Francis, in which he says,—
“I was so famyliar with hym, that I asked hym in earnest if he were emperour, whether he wold make a voyage agenst the infidels in his proper person as the voyce went. He took me hard by the wryst with the oon hand, and layed the other hand upon his brest, and sware to me by his feyth if he atteyn to be emperour, that within three years after he wold bee in Constantynople, or he wold dye by the way.”
In talking still further of the enterprize, Francis told him that “his realme was to hym six millions yerely and over that in value, and that he wold spend three millions of gold, but he would succeed.” In another letter to Wolsey, dated March 14, Sir Thomas represents Francis to have said, that now, since Henry and he were of a mind, neither Emperor nor Pope should be made but such as pleased them. This, it is probable, was a speech more especially intended for the ear of Wolsey. From these notices of conversations, it will be seen, that although the promise of Henry’s interest for the empire in favour of Francis was not finally given till March 14th, it had been verbally promised from the very time of the arrival of the first news of Maximilian’s death.”—Ellis’s Orig. Letters, vol. i. p. 147.

quis of Brandenburg. (a) According to the provisions which had of old been made for securing the independence of the elections, the ministers of the several candidates were prohibited from appearing within a certain distance of the place at which it was to be carried on; but their anxiety to observe the progress of so interesting a ceremony kept them still in its immediate vicinity. The cardinal de Gurck, and the count of Nassau, Charles's emissaries, remained at Mayence, while those of Francis took up their abode at Coblentz. Bonnivet, whose ill-advised zeal induced him to place the interests of his master's cause, as well as his own existence, in a situation of much peril, concealed himself in a castle near Frankfort, and in the disguise of a servant, and carrying a trunk, he occasionally ventured into the city itself, although he knew that if he had been discovered his life would have been forfeited.

The deliberations were opened by the archbishop of Mentz, who, in a speech of great length, exerted all the arguments which his ingenuity could suggest, backed by the fascinations of extraordinary eloquence, to induce the electors to favour the pretensions of Charles. The elector of Treves, on the part of Francis, insisted upon the power, the talents, and the moderation of which the past life of the French monarch had given satisfactory proof in support of the claim which he laid to their suffrages.

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V.

The proceedings
of the elec-
tors.

(a) Robertson, Charles V., vol. ii.

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The assembly, who had formed a wise estimate of the qualifications of both the candidates, were well disposed to maintain their independence by supporting neither, and believing that their interests would be protected, while their liberties would incur no peril, if the imperial authority should be placed in the hands of one of their own body, they offered it to the elector of Saxony. The talents and virtue of the prince justified such a choice; but he was too wise to accept this mark of their esteem and confidence. He knew the exertions which the rank of emperor, to be adequately sustained, would require, and estimated his own limited powers too well to undertake so onerous a charge. In declining the proffered dignity, he recommended to the votes of the electors the king of Spain, as a monarch whose interests were identified with those of Germany, and who lacked neither power nor inducement to keep in check the menacing Turks. (a) The king of Bohemia and the elector of Brandenburg, joining themselves to the archbishops of Cologne and Mayence, formed a considerable majority in favour of Charles. The elector palatine was induced to waver in his support of Francis, by the fear of an attack on his

(a) If the disinterestedness of the elector of Saxony required any other proof than that which his conduct furnished, it would be found in the fact of his indignantly refusing a very large gratuity which was offered him, after the election, by the Spanish ministers, who knew how much their master's cause had been served by his exertions. Sleidan, p. 14. Robertson's Charles V., l. i.

own dominions which Sickinghen and his wild bands threatened, and after a decent shew of reluctance, he acceded to the stronger side. The archbishop of Treves, not disheartened at the powerful odds which were opposed to him, still persisted in his support of Francis's pretensions, and in the hope of gaining some of the electors to his side, he endeavoured to procrastinate the deliberations. At length, after a vain struggle, he was compelled to go to the election, which he did, protesting that he consented to it, not from a conviction of its propriety, but from a desire to preserve the empire from the horrors which might be consequent upon a division of votes. (*a*)

(*a*) Richard Pace, who was the English minister at the diet, speaks plainly in many of his letters, of the bribery which had been severally used by Charles and Francis, in order to gain the votes of the electors. He states the sums (fifty thousand ducats of gold) which Charles had promised to pay to four of them on his election being made sure, and that "the Frenche king hath promisidde double of all that oder princes Christian woll gyve for this empire. So that here is the most dear merchandize that ever was sould; and after myne opynyon it shal be the worste that ever was bought, unto hym that shall obteyne it."—Ellis, vol. i. p. 159. It appears however that Charles's gold was not their only inducement to elect him, for in a letter dated from Mecklin, the 27th of July, Pace says, "and surely they (the electors) wold not have electidde him (Charles) yf fere off there persons hadde not driven them thereunto, and evident ruin off all there nation yff they hadde electidde ony othre king." MSS. Cott. Galba, B. v. f. 285. The duchess d'Angoulême (a most questionable authority) told Sir Thomas Boleyn, among many other things, equally true, that "the electours

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Charles is
elected
emperor.

By such means it was that on the 28th of June the king of Spain was unanimously elected emperor, and proclaimed by the title of Charles V. to the destruction of the hopes which Francis had, not unreasonably, entertained of obtaining that enviable dignity. While the electors dispatched a solemn embassy to Charles, then at Barcelona, with the news of his elevation to the imperial throne, Bonnivet and the other French ministers hastened home, filled with mortification, and narrowly escaped by the way an ambush which Sickinghen had prepared for the purpose of easing them of such of their gold as the rapacity of the electors had left.

Francis's
disappoint-
ment.

This extinguishment of his hopes fell with intense bitterness on Francis, not less because it was wholly unexpected, than because he saw preferred to him a rival whose competition he had scarcely regarded. A youth unknown, powerless, and, as he had believed, almost friendless, had carried away from him the prize on which his soaring ambition had fixed its highest aspirations, and this too, not by any blind chance, but by combinations which consummate prudence had devised, and which extraordinary skill and perseverance had carried into execution. Already he began to perceive that in the young emperor he was to find his competitor in other fields than that in which they

amongst them all hath not had of the king her sonne past a hundreth thousand crownes."—MSS. Cott. Calig. B. vii. f. 140.

had been lately engaged ; and with that elasticity and promptness of mind which he possessed in so remarkable a degree, he began to lay plans for checking the new power that had, at a single leap, raised itself to an ascendancy which, though he did not fear, he could not patiently brook. In the meantime he carefully concealed all outward appearance of disappointment, and even affected to rejoice that the result of the election had been in accordance with the wishes of his own subjects, who had expressed their fears and discontent, lest their king, being emperor, should remove the seat of his government. (*a*)

Francis' second son, who afterwards ascended the throne, under the title of Henry the Second, was born on the 31st of March in this year, at St. Germain en Laye. In anticipation of this event, Francis had solicited Henry the Eighth to be the godfather of his child if it should be a son, and the English king had acceded to his request. (*b*) The ceremony was performed on

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The birth
of the
dauphin
Francis.

(*a*) In a letter from Sir Thomas Boleyn to Henry VIII. he says, "and now Monsr. le Bastard, and they of the counsell here say yt is a good torne for the king here, and a great weale for his reaulme that he is not emperor, for they say yf he had been it shoulde have put him to an infante busynesse, and impoverychyd and undoone his subgietts."—MSS. Cotton. Calig. D. vii. f. 140.

(*b*) Sir Richard Wingfield announced this request to Henry VIII. in a letter from Paris, dated the 17th March, 1519. "The king here desireth your highnesse at this tyme that if the queen here shall have a sonne that it wold please your grace to be godfather, and that it may be named after your highnesse, Harry."—MSS. Cott. Calig. D. vii. f. 182.

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the 4th of June, at which Sir Thomas Boleyn officiated as Henry's proxy. The duke d'Alençon was the second godfather, and the duchess de Nemours the godmother. (a)

The death
of Boisy.

While the election was pending, Chievres and Boisy had been engaged at Montpellier in arranging the terms of a treaty, the object of which was to secure to both kingdoms a continuation of that peace which they believed was most advantageous to their respective monarchs. The sudden death of Boisy, who was carried off by a fever just as his labours had reached a close, prevented the completion of this treaty, and Francis, relieved from the influence of a minister who had always endeavoured to suppress his propensity for war, began to think of resorting to that *ultima ratio regum* for avenging a disappointment, of which however he would not condescend to complain. With this view he turned his thoughts first towards Eng-

(a) The circumstances of this ceremony were announced by Sir Thomas Boleyn, in a letter to cardinal Wolsey, dated the 7th of June, in which he says, "after all was doon the kyng came to me and sayd, he thankud the king's highnesse of the great honour that he had doon hym in crystenynge of his chyld, saying, that when soever yt shall fortune the king's highnesse to have a prince he shalbe glad to doo for hym in like manner, and that he is mynded after his said sonne shall come to age and be able to — he purposyth to send hym to the king's grace into England to doo him service." It was upon this occasion that Francis made that proposition for a personal interview with Henry, which was afterwards carried into effect at the field of Cloth of Gold.—MSS. Cotton. Calig. D. vii. f. 121.

land, whose monarch he affected to think had been as ill-treated as himself by the result of the election, and with whom he was anxious to strengthen his alliance, as well for the purpose of preventing Henry's closer union with his rival as for putting his Belgian frontiers in such a posture of defence or attack as future occasions might require. He therefore renewed his gracious promises to Wolsey, whose desire to attain the papacy made him eager to form connexions with such of the continental sovereigns as were most able to favour his designs, and directed the French gentlemen who remained in England as hostages, and who had access to the court, to express the wish he felt for an interview with Henry, and to renew the proposition he had formerly made to that effect. (a) This was soon agreed upon, but the arrangement of the ceremonial cost a long correspondence and much preparation, and it was not until the spring

Proposals
for a meet-
ing be-
tween
Francis
and Henry.

(a) "The iiii gentlemen, hostages of France, daily resorted to the courte, and had greate chere, and wer well entertained, and, every tyme thei moved, stirred, and required the kyng to passe the sea, and to meete with the Frenche kyng their master, whom thei preised highly, affirmyng that if the king and he might once familiarly comon together, that there should suche a constant love rise and encrease between them, that afterward should never faile. This request was oftentimes hard and litle regarded, but yet by the meanes of the cardinall, at the last in the end of February, it was agreed that the kyng in person should pass the sea to his castle and lordship of Guisnes, and there in Maie next, commyng betweene Guisnes and Arde, the kyng and the Frenche kyng should meete."—Hall, f. 1xix.

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of the following year that the day was fixed for a personal meeting between the kings of France and England somewhere near the boundary of the British possessions in France.

Charles vi-
sits Eng-
land.

Charles, who had heard of the proposed interview, determined, by an appearance of respect and cordiality towards Henry, to guard the English monarch's mind against any unfavourable impressions respecting him which the French king or his ministers might endeavour to create. On his way, therefore, from Spain to Aix la Chapelle, where he was to receive the imperial crown, he visited England, under the pretence of paying his respects to the queen, his aunt. Henry was on his way to Dover when news of Charles's arrival reached him and he dispatched Wolsey to receive him. On the following morning the monarchs met, and rode together to Canterbury, where they staid for four days, (a)

(a) Hall's account of the interview between the monarchs is extremely picturesque. "Calmenes of the wether and lacke of wynde caused that the emperoure might not so sone take lande at the porte of Douer as he would have dooen. Notwithstandyng, towardes the euen he departed from his shippes and entered into his boate comyng towardes the lande, where in his comyng to the lande, on the sea, the reuerent father, lorde Wolsay, cardinall and legate, mette and received hym with suche reuerence as to so noble a prince apperteigned. Thus landed the emperoure Charles vnder the clothe of his estate of the black egle all splaied on riche clothe of golde. In his retinue with hym were many noble menne and many faire ladies of his bloud, as princes and princesses, and one ladie, as chief to bee noted, was the princes Auimon, with many other nobles whiche landed with

a space which Charles employed so well as to ingratiate himself with Henry, and to ar-
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hym in high and sumptuous maner and great riches in their apparell: greate ioye made the people of England to see the emperour, and more to see the benyng maner and mekeness of so high a prince. Then when the emperour thus had taken lande, the reuerent father lord cardynall was as con-
 ducte to the same noble emperour from the shore of Douer vnto the castell there. Then were all persons chered the best that there in the towne might be.

The Emperour beyng thus in the castell of Douer, with hast tidynges came to the kyng where as he was at Cantorbury, who hasted hym towards the noble emperour. And so came tiding early in the morning to the castell of Douer, within which castell the kyng alighted. The emperour, heryng the kyng to come, came out of his chamber to meet we the kyng, and so met with him on the stayres or he coulede come up, wher eche embraced other right louingly; then ye kyng brought the emperour to hys chamber, where as there communynge was of gladnes.

Sone after these two noble princes, on the Whitsunday early in the morenyng, tooke their horse and rode to the cytee of Cantorbury the more to solempne the feast of Pentecost; but specially to see the quene of Englande, his aunte, was the intent of the emperour.

The noble personages of the realme of England, and the quene, with her beautiful trayne of ladies, receiued and welcommed the same Charles elect emperour, whose person was by the kyng conueighed to a faire and pleasant chamber, where the sayde emperour apparelled hym right richely. Then the noble retynue of the sayde emperour, as well of lordes as ladyes, were lodged as well as theie might be with ioye and muche gladnes, and there in Cantorbury soiorned the emperour and all his trayne with the kyng until the Thursdaye in the same weke.

The last daye of Maye beyng Thursday, the emperour toke leaue of the kyng and of all the ladyes, and gaue great

range for a future meeting respecting their mutual interests.

Francis observed this with some uneasiness, but hastened to be in readiness for his interview with Henry, by which he hoped to counteract Charles's influence. He wrote to Wolsey, apprizing him that he knew of Charles's visit, and expressing his intention of setting out to the appointed place. Henry almost immediately after the departure of the emperor, who embarked from Sandwich, proceeded to Dover, and thence crossed over to Calais with his train.

Preparations for the meeting.

The preparations for this interview were made on either side with a gorgeous pomp which had never been equalled. A mistaken rivalry between the nobles of the two nations, who were resolved to outvie each other in the splendour of their apparel and appointments, led them into numberless offences against good taste and good sense. The arrogance of Wolsey and the lavish spirit of Henry overruled the more prudent desire, which Francis had ventured to insinuate, that the ceremonies might be conducted on a somewhat moderate scale; (a) and the conse-

thanks, and so rode to Sandwiche, and there toke his shippes; the wynde to hym was likyng, whereby he sayled into Flanders.

(a) "Sir, The king here wolde gladlye knowe wydder the kyng his brother cowde be contente to forbere the makynge of rich tents and pavilions, whiche thyng he cowde be well contentyd to forbere on hys parte."—Sir Richard Wingfield to Cardinal Wolsey. Ellis, vol. i. p. 167.

quence of this proposition being rejected was, that the expense was immense, particularly on the part of the French, (*a*) who thought themselves bound to maintain the honour of their nation by a needless and ruinous magnificence.

The particulars of the ceremonial which was to regulate the interview of the monarchs having been arranged by the ministers on either side, (*b*) with a minuteness which savoured more of jealous caution than of punctilious etiquette, on the 7th of June, 1520, Francis rode from Guisnes, a frontier town belonging to him, while Henry advanced from Ardres, the last town on the English pale, towards an open plain which had been selected for the meeting, and where

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The Field
of Cloth of
Gold.

(*a*) “Elle fut telle que plusieurs y portèrent leurs moulins, leurs forêts, et leurs prés sur leurs épaules.”—Mém. de du Bellay, l. i.

(*b*) The ceremonial, as settled by Wolsey, is given in Hall. “The said kyng of England shall issue out of his castle of Guisnes halfe a mile long, without that he shall issue out of the limites of his demain of Guisnes, and shall come towardes the said castle of Arde, and there, within the territorie of the said castle of Guisnes, he shall rest in some place not fortified nor walled, and nere the limites of Fraunce, that the said commissioners shall assigne as aboue said; and the said right christen kyng, parting from his castle of Arde, shall come towardes the said kyng of England the same daie, place, time, and houre, that shall tary hym within the demain of Guisnes as is said: In the whiche shall not bee set nor dressed any paultions or tentes, and there the said two kynges beyng on horsebacke, with their retinue, shall se the one thother, and salute ech other and speake together familiarly and common in that sort and maner, and so long as shall seme to them good.”

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tents had been pitched so gorgeous and so costly as to give to it the name, by which it is always called, of **THE FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD.**

The warning guns being fired from the two towns, the monarchs and their retinues set forward. Francis, accompanied by a large train of nobles and gentlemen, all richly dressed and well mounted, came first into the field. Henry, attended in like manner, reached the bank of the Andern; and here for a moment both parties paused, a notion being entertained on either side that the train of the other outnumbered their own. (a) There was probably little difference between them, but, at all events, it was disregarded, and the main bodies halting here, the two kings advanced to meet each other.

Francis was accompanied by the duke of Bourbon, who bore the sword of his office naked before the king; by the lord admiral, and by the

(a) Lord Abergavenny, who had been among the French party, thought it incumbent on him to inform Henry that their numbers exceeded those of his own followers, wherefore the Earl of Shrewsbury said, “ ‘Sir, whatever my lorde of Burgheny saieth, I myself haue beene there, and the Frenchmenne bee more in feare of you and youre subjectes than youre subjectes bee of them, wherefore,’ saied the earle, ‘if I wer worthis to give counsaill, your grace should marche forwarde.’ ‘So we intende, my lorde,’ saide the kyng. Then the officers of armes cried, ‘On, afore.’ Then in shorte while was the kyng on the bank of Andern, then every gentleman as thei roade toke his place, and stood still side by side, their regard or face towards the vale of Andern.”
—Hall, f. lxxvii.

master of the horse. With Henry rode the cardinal of York, and the marquis of Dorset, bearing the sword of state. When it was perceived that the French constable carried his sword unsheathed, Henry bade the marquis of Dorset bare his sword also, and in this manner the two parties advanced into the valley of Ardres, where they met. The kings approached, and first embraced each other on horseback, then, alighting, repeated their congratulations, and proceeded together to a rich tent of cloth of gold which had been prepared for their reception. "Thus, arme in arme," says Hall, "went the Frenche kyng, Frauncis the First of Fraunce, and Henry the Eighth, kyng of England and of Fraunce, passyng with comunicacion." The same author gives a circumstantial account of the conversation that ensued between the monarchs, which is too curious to be omitted. "When the two princes were in the tente before rehearsed, the French kyng said, 'My dere brother and cosyne, thus farre to my paine have I travailed to see you personally. I thynke verely that you esteeme me as I am, and that I maie to you bee your aide; the realmes and seignories shewe the mighte of my persone.' 'Sir,' said the kyng of Englande, 'neither your realmes nor other the places of your power is the matter of my regard, but the stedfastnesse and loyall keepyng of promises comprised in charters betweene you and me; that observed and kept, I never saw prince with my iyen that mighte of

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my harte bee more loved. And for your love I have passed the seas into the fardest frontier of my realme to se you presently, the which dooying now gladdeth me.' And then were the two kyngs served with a banket, and, after mirthe, had communicacion in the banket tyme, and then shewed the one the other their pleasure."

This conference between the monarchs was the signal for unrestricted communication between their followers. The English and the French drank together, (a) and the entertainment being concluded, Francis and Henry issued from the tent, (b) and bidding each other farewell, returned to their several quarters.

(a) "Ipocras was chiefe drinke of plentie to all that wold drinke."—Hall, f. lxxvii.

(b) Hall describes, with laudable minuteness, the dress and figure of the French king. "I then well perceived thabiliment royall of the Frenche kyng; his garment was a chemew of clothe of siluer culpond, with clothe of golde of damaske cantell wise, and garded on the bordours with the Burgon bendes, and ouer that a cloke of broched satten, with gold of purple coloure wrapped about his body tranverse beded from the shoulder to the waste, fastened in the lope of the first fold; this said cloke was richely set with pearles and precious stones. This French kyng had on his hed a koyfe of damaske gold set with diamondes, and his courser that he rode on was couered with a trapper of tissue broudered with deuse, cut in fashion matell wise, the skirtes were embowed and fret with frised worke, and knit with cordelles and buttous tasseled of Turkey makyng, rames and bedstall answering of lyke woorke. And verely of his persone the same Fraunces, the Frenche kyng, was a goodly prince; stately of countenance, mery of chere, broune coloured, great eyes, high nosed, bigge lipped, faire brested and shoulders, small legges, and long tete."

On the following day, the tournaments, which were to be held in honour of this meeting, commenced. A field had been prepared, round which ditches were dug, and scaffolds erected for the spectators. At one end was set up, on a lofty artificial mount, a hawthorn and a raspberry bush, which were intended as the several devices of the kings of England and of France. "On the right side of the field stood the queene of England and the queene of Fraunce, with many ladies. The same camp was railed and barred on every ende strongly; then was twoo lodgyngs in the entry of the same fielde for the twoo kynges richely adorned, which were unto them very necessarie, for therein thei armed themselves and toke their ease: also in the same compasse was twoo greate sellers couched full of wyne, which was to all menne as largess as the fountain." (a)

On the mountain where the trees stood, the shields of the two kings were hung, and the monarchs, at the head of their several companies, engaged in the martial sports, and encountered all comers "to passe the tyme from idlenesse." These sports, diversified occasionally with masquerades, dances, and banquets, occupied several days. The kings paid visits to the queens of either nation; but all their movements were regulated according to the jealous precautions which Wolsey had devised. The irksomeness of this system of etiquette was felt by every

(a) Hall, f. lxxviii.

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body, but no one had ventured to suggest the expediency of breaking through it, until Francis, whose disposition was frank and unceremonious, put an end to it at once. He rose earlier than usual one morning, bade two gentlemen and a page, who were in attendance, to follow him, and mounting his horse, he rode to Guisnes. On the bridge, as he was entering the town, he met the governor with a troop of two hundred archers. "My friends," he cried gaily, "I make you all my prisoners. Shew me instantly to the English king's chamber." The Englishmen were astonished at so extraordinary a proceeding, and told him that the king had not yet risen. Francis, without staying for their reply, hurried on to Henry's lodging, and awakened him by knocking loudly at his door. Henry, who was as much pleased as surprised at this proof of the French king's confidence, fell into the humour of the adventure at once. "My brother," he said, "you have played me a very agreeable turn, and have taught me upon what terms you and I ought to live together. I confess that I am taken; I yield myself your prisoner, and plight you my faith." He then presented Francis with a collar of gold worth 15,000 angelots, (*a*) and begged him to wear it

(*a*) The angelot was a coin which was struck at Paris in the reign of Henri VI. Its name was derived from the figure of an angel holding the shields of England and France, which was on the reverse of the coin. It was worth about 15 sous.—Gaillard, t. i. p. 271.

“ for his prisoner’s sake.” Francis accepted the gift, and returned it by a bracelet of twice its value. Henry was getting up, and Francis, who insisted upon performing the office of valet de chambre for him, helped him to dress. He then returned homewards, and met upon the road some of his followers, who had discovered his absence, and who had felt considerable anxiety in consequence of their not knowing whither he had gone. Fleuranges, who was upon terms of familiarity with the king, and whose devoted attachment justified his addressing him without ceremony, told him plainly that he thought he was a madman for doing what he had done, and that although he was very glad to see him back again, he wished the devil might take the person who had advised him to so strange a freak. “ Nobody counselled it,” replied Francis. “ I took care to ask no advice, because I knew no one would give me that which I had determined to follow.” He then amused his followers by relating to them, with great pleasantry, the particulars of his adventure. (a) Henry followed the example which Francis had set him on the following day. The queens gave entertainments, and the tournaments were renewed. The sports were, however, not wholly confined to those in which men at arms alone could participate. Wrestling matches were had, in which the English yeomanry excelled, and archery, in which Henry

(a) *Mém. de Fleuranges*, 273.

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displayed so much skill as to extort from the Frenchmen, who were not disposed to praise him, expressions of admiration. (a) The two kings also had a personal encounter, in which Henry was worsted. They had retired to a tent for refreshment, when Francis seized him playfully by the collar, and said, "Brother, I must have a bout with you." They engaged, and Francis, although he was inferior to Henry in strength, managed to throw him. Henry rose, and would have renewed the contest, but the more discreet bystanders, who saw it was likely that such a sport might end by exciting real anger, interfered and put an end to it by announcing the supper.

A treaty
signed by
Francis
and Henry.

The terms of the treaty between the kings had been agreed upon before they met, so that they had little to confer about. The provision for the marriage of the dauphin of France with the princess Mary was renewed. The other stipulations were, that after payment by Francis of the million of crowns agreed upon by the former treaty, he should pay to Henry an annual pension of 1,000 livres; that in case the dauphin should become king of England by reason of his intended marriage with the princess Mary, the pension should be continued to Mary and her heirs for ever. The differences between England and Scotland were to be submitted to the arbitrement of the duchess d'Angoulême and

(a) Fleuranges says, "He is a wondrous good and strong bowman. It did one good to see him."—*Mém.*, 277.

Wolsey. (a) These provisions the kings mutually ratified in the presence of each other. The articles were produced on either side, and Henry having read those on the part of France, began to read his own: "I, Henry, king of England—I was going to add," he said, "and of France; but, since you are present, I will forbear, for I should say that which is not true."

On the 23d of June, Wolsey, who would not suffer so distinguished an occasion to pass without having some share in the pomp which abounded, sang "an highe and solempne masse" before the royal personages and their followers in a magnificent chapel which he had got built in the course of the preceding night. A banquet was then given, the splendour of which seemed to surpass all that had gone before it; (b) and on the 24th of June, "which was Sunday and Midsomer day," the two kings took leave of each other. (c)

(a) Rym. Fœd., t. xiii. p. 719.

(b) "To tell you the apparel of the ladyes, their rich attyres, their sumptuous juells, their diversities of beauties, and the goodly behaviour from day to day sithe the first meeting, I assure you ten mennes wittes can scace declare it." —Hall, f. lxxxii.

(c) Hall's account of this interview, and he was present at it, was drawn up by Henry's command. Another journal of the occurrences was also drawn up by order of Francis. This last was published by Montfaucon in his "Monumens de la Monarchie Françoisse;" together with a third narrative by the maréchal de Fleuranges.

Francis was so gratified with the splendour of this interview that he ordered the cavalcade of the monarchs, at their

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Francis
appoints
Henry the
arbitrator
of any dif-
ferences
between
himself
and
Charles.

Henry re-
turns to
England.

The probability that differences might arise between Francis and the emperor was so obvious, that it had formed the subject of conversations by the French and English ministers, the former expressing a very natural desire to know what part Henry meant to take in the event of a war. The English ministers had declared, and Henry had added his own assertion to the same effect, that he had determined to remain neuter. He affected, on all occasions, the character of an umpire, and his device of an archer, with the motto, "whom I defend prevails," and another, in which he was represented holding a pair of scales in one hand, and a weight in the other, were intended to express his intention of acting as mediator and preserver of the peace of Europe. Francis, who relied upon the promises he had made, gave him a full authority to settle all disputes between himself and Charles. (a) Immediately after parting with Francis, Henry went to Calais, where he staid until the 10th of July. On that day he proceeded to Gravelines, where Charles was, under

first meeting on horseback, to be carved in basso relievo on five marble tables, and to be placed in front of the house of the procureur general at Rouen, where they still remain. Henry directed the interview, with its attendant circumstances, to be represented in a picture, formerly at Windsor, but which, by the munificence of his late majesty, now ornaments the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries. Barklay, the black monk, who wrote "The Ship of Fools," was engaged by Wolsey to supply the mottoes and devices on the occasion.—Ellis, vol. i. p. 162.

(a) Rymer, t. xiii. p. 748.

the pretence of returning the visit which the emperor had paid him in England. Charles displayed upon this occasion that profound knowledge of human character of which he was so great a master. He turned Henry's foible to his own advantage, by offering to invest him with a power similar to that which he knew Francis had given him, and to make him the arbitrator of any differences that might arise between them. He gained the haughty and rapacious Wolsey by promising him all the weight of his influence to secure him the papal crown when it should become vacant, which the state of Leo's health rendered it probable would happen at no distant day, and, by exciting the minister's ambition, spared his own money. The result of the interview was, that he secured Henry's assistance by preparing him to look upon any contest that might ensue as the aggression of Francis and an attack upon the peace of Europe, of which he affected to consider Henry as the preserver; and thus, without any expense, he obtained that for which Francis had made so lavish an outlay in vain;—as he had before purchased the imperial throne and the substantial aid of England for less than it had cost his rival to make an empty display, from which he reaped not the slightest benefit.

At the commencement of the year 1521, an accident happened which had nearly deprived France of her monarch, and removed from Charles's path the greatest obstacle to the accom-

1521.
An accident befalls
Francis.

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plishment of his ambitious projects. The court passed the Christmas at Romorentin ; on the Twelfth Night, the count de St. Pol had given an entertainment, at which the old custom of choosing a Roi de la Fête was practised. The king, who was the very soul of mirth in his jocund court, proposed that a party should go and attack this mock monarch at the hotel of the count de St. Pol. A formal challenge was sent, and a defiance returned. The count de St. Pol and his friends collected arms and ammunition to repel their assailants, and their weapons consisted of snow-balls, hard eggs, and baked apples. The fight was kept up with great spirit on both sides ; at length, the ammunition of the besieged was expended, and the assaulting troops were forcing the doors. At this moment one of the persons in the hotel very imprudently threw a lighted firebrand from one of the windows, which struck the king on the head. The injury he received was so serious, that for some days his life was despaired of. It was generally reported that he was dead ; and even those about him believed he had lost his eye-sight. Francis displayed, upon this occasion, that goodness of heart which commonly distinguished him. He desired particularly that no inquiry should be made for the person by whom the brand had been thrown. It is altogether my own fault, he said. I committed the first folly ; and it is fit that I should bear the pain of it. (a)

(a) *Mém. de du Bellay*, l. i.

Conse-
quent
change in
the mode
of wearing
beards in
France.

This accident gave occasion to a change in the fashion. It had been for many years the custom to wear the hair extremely long, and the beard quite short. Francis, who had been obliged to have all his hair cut off in consequence of the hurt he had received, adopted the Italian and Swiss fashion of wearing his hair short and his beard long, and continued this habit during his life. It was, of course, followed by his court, and soon came to be generally adopted. (a)

The rise of
the Refor-
mation.

While these events were passing, the seeds of that reformation in religion which has since been the fostering parent of civil liberty and intellectual improvement, had taken root and ripened into maturity in Germany. Many causes had combined to prepare the minds of men for a revolution, which has been truly said to be the greatest and most beneficial that has happened since the publication of Christianity. (b) The profligate lives of the Catholic clergy had inspired general distrust and contempt. Almost all

(a) The common people, who are slow to change their old customs, continued the former practice of wearing their hair and shaving their beards; and members of the legal and other grave professions did not adopt the change. It soon became so much an exclusive distinction of their body, that the celebrated Olivier de Duville, who was afterwards chancellor, was refused admission to the sittings of the parliament in his office of maître des requêtes, unless he would cut off his beard. The university of Paris, in 1534, interdicted masters of arts from wearing their beards.

(b) Robertson's Charles V., vol. ii. b. 11.

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the writers who had distinguished themselves, had taken occasion, with more or less seriousness, to censure the abuses which prevailed among the professors. The severe Dante, and the gentle-spirited Petrarch, had denounced them in terms of the bitterest reprobation, and Boccaccio, with his less able imitators, had brought the more powerful and more popular force of ridicule to bear against them. A general love of inquiry had ensued upon the more general diffusion of knowledge. The art of printing had enabled the bolder spirits of the world to communicate their sentiments and their discoveries. A more enlightened and liberal course of study was adopted, and the thinking part of mankind thought no longer in vain. (a) Although, however, these circumstances had prepared the way for the establishment of the Protestant Reformation, it was to a cause purely accidental that its first rise must be traced.

The sale of
indul-
gences.

One of the most favourite projects of Julius II., whose views, notwithstanding his violence, were always of a magnificent kind, had been the erection of a large and splendid temple for the celebration of the Christian religion in the capital of the Christian world. To supply the funds for building the cathedral church of St. Peter, he published an indulgence, which he directed to

(a) The causes which prepared the way for the Reformation, are traced with great ability and minuteness by Mr. Roscoe, in his *Leo the Tenth*, vol. iii. c. xv.; and in Robertson's *Charles the Fifth*, vol. ii. b. 2.

be sold throughout Europe. With the money which was thus produced, the church was begun. When Leo X. assumed the papal dignity, he continued with great zeal the plan which his predecessor had originated; but the funds failing, he resorted to the same means by which they had formerly been supplied, and issued another indulgence—the sale of which he directed to be carried on as usual.

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It may be expedient here to explain the nature of these indulgences. It is one of the doctrines of the Romish church, that the Saviour of the world, by his meritorious passion—the Virgin Mary, by her immaculateness—the Saints, by their penitential sufferings and by their martyrdoms—have accumulated an inexhaustible treasure of good works, which is placed at the disposal of the head of the Christian church. The nature of these superabundant merits is such, that, being applied to believers after the pain eternal has been remitted by the sacrament of penitence, they have the power of expiating that temporal pain which either in this world, or by purgatory in that which is to come, must be endured by sinners in order to satisfy the divine justice. While this practice remained merely a dogma of the church, it was no more mischievous than many other superstitions; but the avarice of the popes had long turned it to a source of profit. Indulgences were at first only granted as the reward of persons who, by their piety and devotion, were

1517.
The abuses
which the
sale occa-
sioned.

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V.

thought to have entitled themselves to such a privilege. In the eleventh century, Urban II. granted them to individuals who undertook the crusade; they were next granted to such persons as hired a soldier to perform that service, and soon came to be extended to those who contributed money for the performance of any pious work. The transition thence to their being sold for money and being made an article of commerce, was not very violent; and although successive councils of the church had expressly forbidden the corrupt practice, it was too lucrative to be abandoned.

When Leo published his indulgence, another abuse had been added to those which attended the sale. The desire of procuring ready money induced him to grant commissions to persons in various districts, who paid him a gross sum, and who afterwards made a profit by retailing them to those who had piety or superstition enough to become purchasers. One of these commissions had been sold to Albert, elector of Mayence and archbishop of Magdeburg, who employed, as his agent in the distribution of the indulgences, a Dominican friar, named Tetzel. (a) He had already distinguished him-

(a) "As the form of these indulgences, and the benefits which they were supposed to convey, are unknown in Protestant countries, and little understood at present in several places where the Roman Catholic religion is established, I have, for the information of my readers, translated the form of absolution used by Tetzel:—' May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits

self by his successful discharge of a similar employment which had been entrusted to him by the Teutonic knights ; (a) and although he was a man of notoriously dissolute life, his coarse but popular eloquence and his profound knowledge of the lower orders of the people, who were the chief purchasers of his wares, recommended him to the elector. Tetzal engaged the assistance of the brethren of his order, and at fairs and

of His most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred ; and then, from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see, and as far as the keys of the holy church extend. I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account, and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism ; so that when you die the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened ; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”—Seckend. Comment. lib. p. 14. Robertson, Chas. V., vol. ii. b. 2.

(a) A bull for the sale of indulgences had been some time before granted to the order of the Teutonic knights, to raise funds for a crusade against the Muscovites. The Muscovites, though of the Greek church, were Christians ; but as the Teutonic knights chose to make a war upon them, and as they were known to be a barbarous people, this was thought a sufficient ground for granting the indulgence.

markets they preached up the advantages which were to be derived from the sale of these indulgences, in terms which, however well they might be adapted to the understandings of their hearers, were disgustingly impious and absurd. (a) These Dominicans set up shops for the sale of their bulls in taverns, and spent a

(a) Even the most zealous Catholics scarcely venture to deny, that the zeal of the sellers of indulgences carried them beyond the bounds of propriety. "On ne peut nier," says Florimond de Rémond, "qu'il n'y eut de l'abus, de l'ordure, et de la vilenie en ces avarés questeurs." They said, that persons being possessed of one of the Pope's bulls, could never be damned, however guilty; for that the Pope could deliver souls out of hell itself. Some of them carried their assertions to a pitch of indecency and blasphemy, which appears almost incredible. The indulgences, they said, were so efficacious, that they could absolve a criminal, however deep was his guilt, *etiamsi matrem Domini stuprasset*.—Perizonius, Durand, Hist. du Seizième Siècle, l. v. n. 18. "I have absolved more sinners by my indulgences," said Tetzal, "than ever St. Peter converted Gentiles by his preaching."—Durand, l. v. n. 5. Dr. Robertson has given some extracts from the exhortations by which the friars promoted the sale of their commodities: "Lo! the heavens are open; if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of purgatory; and are you so ungrateful that you will not rescue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat you ought to strip yourself instantly, and sell it, in order to purchase such benefits, &c." These, and many such extravagant expressions, are selected out of Luther's works, by Chemnitius, in his Exam. Concilii Tridentini, apud Herm. Vonder Hardt. Hist. Liter. Reform., pars iv. p. 6. The same author has published several of Tetzal's discourses, which prove that these expressions were neither singular nor exaggerated.—Chas. V., vol. i. b. 2.

part of the money which they wrung from the ignorance of the people in the most unseemly debaucheries. The abuse in a short time grew to so great a height, that all decent persons were scandalized, and all the truly religious shocked at the disgraceful excesses which ensued.

The Augustine friars were the great rivals of the Dominicans in Germany, and were among those who openly and ably reprobated the disgraceful practices of the latter fraternity. It is not improbable, that some portion of jealousy, mingled with their dislike, and that they were as much piqued at the ascendancy which the Dominicans exercised over the minds of a large part of the community, as they were scandalized at their impiety and profligacy. Staupitz, the vicar of the order of Augustines, was a man of extraordinary merit. He had been selected by that wise and liberal prince, the elector of Saxony, who had declined the proffered title of Emperor, to preside over an university which he had recently founded at Wittemberg, and Staupitz, by a natural partiality, had filled the professors' chairs principally with the brethren of his own order. Among them was a young and ardent man, the professor of theology, and in him Staupitz found an apt instrument for checking and exposing the Augustines, and for accomplishing the design which the less enthusiastic principal wanted the resolution to carry into effect.

The Augustines and Dominicans quarrel.

CHAP.

V.

Luther.

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, in the province of Mansfeldt in Saxony, on the 10th of November, 1483. His parents, notwithstanding they were of a very humble condition in life, had contrived to procure for him a learned education. He was not originally destined for the church, and the accident which induced him to enter it, gave a proof of that active and fervent sensibility for which he was afterwards so remarkable. He was walking with a friend, to whom he was tenderly attached, when a thunder storm came on, and the lightning struck his companion dead at his side. Luther, who was of a melancholy and imaginative temperament, was so deeply impressed by this event, that he suddenly resolved to renounce the world. He entered the church at the age of two-and-twenty, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of his friends to the contrary, and soon distinguished himself not less by his learning than by his exemplary devotion. He applied himself to the study of theology with a rare assiduity, and his progress was the more rapid and successful, because he carried to it a profound knowledge of the Platonic system of philosophy, of which he was an ardent disciple, and which had begun to supersede the vain subtleties of the Aristotelian school. He acquired too a thorough knowledge of the scriptures, which, strange as it may appear, formed at that time no necessary, or even usual part of a churchman's studies. He had accidentally

been led to the perusal of the sacred writings, and they furnished him, in the controversies he was afterwards engaged in, with an irresistible weapon. It was the reputation which his acquirements had so justly gained for him that induced Staupitz to procure his election, first to the professorship of philosophy, and afterwards to that of theology in the new university; and the manner in which he discharged the duties of those offices proved to the principal that he would be a most efficient coadjutor in repressing the offences which the Dominicans were daily committing.

Luther was at this time thirty-five years of age. The success which had attended his career had fostered that vanity, of which, in company with many noble qualities, he had no inconsiderable share. He had acquired a firm confidence in his own powers, was fond of disputation, and knew from experience that he possessed a prompt, indefatigable, and convincing eloquence. The disgust which the misconduct of the Dominicans had inspired in his severe and pure mind, he was not slow to express, nor was he very delicate in his choice of terms of reproof. He first inveighed from the pulpit against the immoral conduct and the mischievous doctrines of the sellers of indulgences. He then wrote to the archbishop of Mayence, invoking his interference to suppress practices disgraceful to the church and subversive of true religion. Finding that this

Luther takes up the cause of the Augustines, and preaches against the sale of indulgences.

CHAP.
V.

Publishes
his propo-
sitions.

had no effect, and urged at once by his own impetuous temper, and by the suggestions of Staupitz, he composed ninety-five brief propositions, which he read in the church of Wittenberg, on the eve of All Saints, in the year 1517, and afterwards affixed them against the door of the church, for the purpose of inviting discussion. (a) He had also many copies of them printed and dispersed throughout Germany, challenging disputants. The main object of the proposition was to prove that the power of the Pope extended only to remit such penances as he had the power to inflict, and that good Christians obtained pardon of their offences by sincere contrition alone, without which no absolution was effectual. These propositions were not absolutely heretical, (b) and all of them were brought forward in the shape of doubts and suggestions, rather than as attacks; but that which at once made them highly popular in Germany, and formidable to the advocates of corruption, was, that they censured, in terms of bold and uncompromising reprobation, the rapacity and dissoluteness of the collectors of

(a) The title of these propositions was—" *Amore et Studio elucidandæ Veritatis, Hæc subscripta themata disputabuntur Wittembergæ, presidente R. P. Martino Luthero, eremitano Augustiniano, artium et theologiæ magistro, ejusdem ibidem ordinario lectore. Quare petit ut qui non possunt verbis presentes, nobiscum disceptare, agant id literis absentes. In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen. M.D.XVII.*"

(b) Lingard's Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 126.

the money produced by the indulgences, and the avarice and profligacy of the court of Rome.

Tetzel, who was principally concerned in the attack which Luther had made upon his traffic, replied to his propositions by a hundred and six counter-propositions; and then exercised his authority of inquisitor by condemning Luther's publication to the flames. The friends of Luther retorted by an act of similar absurdity, and burnt Tetzel's propositions in the public square of Wittemberg.

The vice-chancellor of Ingoldstadt, Johannes Eccius, wrote a short and bitter invective against the reformer, which proved nothing more than that the vice-chancellor was a master of very abusive epithets. Silvestrio Prierio, the licenser of books in the apostolical palace, resorted to the same course with no better success, having first tried to excite the anger of the Pope, who replied to him, that brother Martin was a person of great talent, and that the affair was nothing more than a squabble among friars. (a) Prierio consoled himself for his disappointment by asserting in another work, that the authority of the Pope was superior to both the councils and canons, and that indulgences granted by him were as efficacious as the collectors asserted them to be. Hostraten, another of Luther's enemies, went

CHAP.
V.

His propositions are attacked by his enemies.

(a) "Che fra Martino aveva bellissimo ingegno, et che coteste erano invidie fratesche."—Bandello, par iii. novel 25.

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V.

Leo summons Luther to Rome,

farther, and in plain terms advised Leo to burn so obstinate and contumacious a heretic.

Leo, who was little disposed to interest himself about a matter which he thought too insignificant, as well as too remote to be in any degree dangerous, at first contented himself with writing to Staupitz, desiring him to admonish his refractory brother; but when at length the violence of his enemies had roused the professor to such a degree of anger, as made him keep no terms with them, Leo found himself compelled, by the remonstrances of Maximilian, as well as of others, to summon Luther to Rome, there to answer the charge of heresy, which was now loudly imputed to him. The protection which the elector of Saxony openly extended to the reformer, induced the pontiff however to change his intention in this respect; and before Luther could have obeyed his summons, if he had ever intended to do so, he delegated to the cardinal Cajetan the task of inquiring into Luther's alleged delinquencies, and ordered the investigation to take place at Augsburg. Luther obeyed this last injunction, and, having taken the precaution of procuring a safe-conduct from the emperor, made his appearance at Augsburg in humble guise, having performed his journey on foot, (*a*) not without some apprehensions for his personal safety; but pre-

but afterwards delegates Cajetan to inquire into his alleged heresy, who summons Luther to Augsburg.

(*a*) "Veni, igitur, pedester et pauper in Augustam." Luth. in præf.

pared with a courageous and constant spirit to abide the event. (a) The cardinal Cajetan received him civilly, but with an appearance of cold scorn, which neither suited Luther's temper, nor was becoming the occasion. The reformer entered into a conference with him, in which he maintained temperately, but resolutely, the propositions he had before published. The cardinal then found it necessary to change the haughtiness of his manner; he perceived that Luther was so much a master of the subject in dispute, and so able to maintain his opinions, that little was to be gained by a controversy with him. He therefore affected to exhort him, as his spiritual superior, to recant the errors of his doctrines, and to submit to the Pope's authority. Luther requested time to consider, and on the following day presented himself before the cardinal, accompanied by four imperial senators, a notary, and a witness, in whose presence he delivered a written protest, wherein he denied that his doctrines

Luther's
interview
with the
cardinal.

(a) The touching letter which Luther wrote to his friend Melancthon, on this occasion, displays him in an amiable and interesting light. "Nihil novi aut miri hic agitur, nisi quod mei nominis rumore civitas plena est, ut omnes cupiunt videre hominem tanti incendii Herostratum. Tu age virum, sicut agis, et adolescentes recta doce. Ego pro vobis et illis vado immolari, si Domino placet. Malo perire, et quod unum mihi gravissimum est, etiam vestra conversatione dulcissima carere in æternum, quam ut revoce[m] benedicta, et studiis optimis perdendis occasio fiam, apud nos, ut insipientissimos, ita acerrimos literarum et studiorum hostes."—Luth. Op., t. i. p. 163.

CHAP.
V.

contained any imputation against the just power of the church, or any thing contrary to religion, to the Scriptures, or to reason. He admitted the possibility that he might have erred, and said he was willing to be convinced if he could be shewn to be wrong; but in the mean time he offered to prove the truth of his belief, and to maintain the reasons on which it was founded, against all opponents.(a) The cardinal, who was bent upon gaining a triumph over the reformer, endeavoured to engage Staupitz, and Lintz, who was a confidential friend of Luther's, to persuade him to make a fuller submission, and they succeeded so far, that Luther was induced to write the cardinal a letter, in which he admitted that the heat of the contest had led him to use terms disrespectful to the pontiff, and promised to refrain from censuring the sale of indulgences for the future, provided his enemies were restrained from calumniating and abusing him. Thinking now that he had staid long enough at Augsburg, and discovering, or fancying he discovered something in the demeanour of the cardinal which betokened a treacherous intention towards him, he determined to depart. He first however drew up a sort of appeal from Leo misled and misinformed, to Leo when he should be better acquainted with his case, and having caused it to be affixed in the great square of Augsburg, in the night-time, he retired to Wittemberg for the

(a) Pallavicini, c. x. p. 79.

security of his person, which he believed to be in danger. (a) His flight was turned by his enemies to his disadvantage. The cardinal wrote to the elector, entreating him to abandon a person who was unworthy of his protection, and against whose heresies the thunders of the church were directed; but the elector, who knew Luther's virtues and his worth, replied dryly, that he was not disposed to deprive his university of so great an ornament.

CHAP.
V.

Luther
withdraws
from Augs-
burg.

Upon the death of the emperor Maximilian, the elector, who then became one of the temporary regents of Germany, openly extended his protection to Luther; and the other regent, the elector palatine, was scarcely less favourably dis-

(a) It seems that the cardinal was authorized, and had intended either to make Luther recant his errors, or to throw him into prison. Cajetan unquestionably treated him with injudicious contumely. A conversation, which Luther had with a secretary of the cardinal before he had obtained his passport, seems to favour the belief that it was intended to arrest him. When Luther refused to go to Augsburg until he should have obtained the emperor's safe-conduct, the secretary asked him what good he thought a safe-conduct would do him; or whether it was likely that the elector would take up arms for him in case it should be violated. Luther replied, "that was the last thing he should wish for." "Where then would you hide yourself if it was determined to seize you?" asked the secretary; "under the vault of heaven," replied Luther. "And what would you do," said the secretary, "if you had the Pope and the cardinals in your power?" "I would treat them," answered Luther, "with all honour and respect."—Hayne's *Life of Luther*, p. 19. Durand, *Hist. du Seizième Siècle*, l. v. n. 28.

CHAP.
V.

Miltitz is
sent to
inquire
into the
charges.

posed towards him. The mild disposition of Leo, and his belief that the whole affair would soon expend itself, induced him to turn a deaf ear to those who urged him to pursue the German heretic, as they called him, to a signal condemnation and punishment. As however he was compelled by their importunities to take some step towards checking the disorders which prevailed among the friars, he sent a Saxon gentleman, named Miltitz, who he knew would be personally agreeable to the elector, for the purpose of inquiring into the charges against Luther. Miltitz, in accordance with the Pope's directions, treated Luther gently, and even with respect. (a) He went further, and having learnt that the conduct of Tetzels deserved censure, he did not hesitate to express, in the presence of Luther, his opinion of the Dominicans' practices, and this, it is said, by the Catholic writers, with so much severity, that Tetzels took it to heart, and died of the mortification which it occasioned him: a story which, considering Tet-

(a) Durand, l. vi. n. 8, says, that Miltitz employed himself on his journey in collecting such information as he could, relative to the subject of his mission, and that he even enquired of the servants in the inns at which he lodged, what they thought of the court of Rome. The answers were such as convinced him that the Pope's authority and his person were held in little estimation in Germany. He said to Luther, in one of their conversations, "If I were at the head of five-and-twenty thousand men, I should not be able to take you to Rome. Throughout my journey hither I have found among the people three enemies to the Pope, for one who is friendly to him."

zel's life and character, seems at the least highly improbable.

Miltitz pursued, during the whole of his negotiations with Luther, a course so moderate and conciliatory, as to be highly displeasing to the more violent of the reformer's enemies. They had frequent meetings, at which it was said, that Miltitz indulged to excess in the German habit of drinking, to which Luther was not averse, and, in his cups, disclosed so much of the practices of the Roman court, as confirmed the latter in his opposition. At length Miltitz, being compelled to do something in respect of his mission, summoned the superiors of the Augustine brotherhood, that they might endeavour to influence their refractory member to submission. Luther affected to yield, and promised to write to the Pope. He performed this promise to the letter; and availing himself of the information he had obtained from Miltitz, he addressed to Leo an epistle full of biting sarcasms and ingeniously concealed reproaches, which were made the more poignant by the tone of affected respect and veneration which pervaded the letter. Under the pretence of pitying the condition of one whom he seemed to consider as amiable and well disposed, and who was compelled to occupy so corrupt a seat as that of the Roman pontiff, he brings in long array all possible accusations against the profligacy and dissoluteness of the clergy, and calls upon Leo to flee away from them as snares by which the great

Luther writes an ironical letter to the Pope.

CHAP.
V.

1519.
The new
emperor
takes no
part in the
dispute.

enemy of mankind had entrapped the souls of many of his predecessors.

Charles the Fifth was elected to the imperial throne, and his elevation was owing, as he and all the world knew, to the elector of Saxony. Luther's hopes and his consideration rose with this; for he could not but believe that the authority of his first patron and firm friend would be increased, and that his protection would now be a sufficient security against all the world. Charles however appeared disposed to take no part in an affair, the importance of which was not yet apparent. The Pope contented himself with publishing a bull, (*a*) in which he endeavoured to restore the authority of the indulgences which Luther had decried. But it was now in vain. In vain the jacobins preached and resorted to all the arts by which they had formerly won the minds of the people; nobody listened to them, nobody bought their indulgences, the bull was disregarded, and Luther continued to write and preach with inexhaustible energy, and almost miraculous effect.

Carlos-
tadius
espouses
Luther's
doctrines.

He was now no longer the single champion of the doctrines he so boldly promulgated. Andrew Bondestein, archdeacon of Wittemberg, and doctor in theology, who is better known by his assumed name of Carlostadius, had conceived a fanatical admiration of Luther, in consequence of which he had been long engaged in a controversy with Eccius. He at length defied him

(*a*) Of the 9th of November, 1518.

to a public dispute, which was held by permission of George, duke of Saxony, cousin of the elector, in his castle at Leipsig. The duke, the members of his council, the magistrates, the university, and a great concourse of other persons were present at this theological duel. The fame of the contending parties, and the presence of Luther, who came in person to watch over the conduct of his champion, gave an extraordinary interest to the display. Carlostadius carried on the dispute for several days, until his strength failed under the exertion and excitement; and then Luther took up the weapon which he had relinquished. Eccius, who was exhausted before, found himself no match for the vigorous reformer. The dispute terminated without any decision, and, as is usual on such occasions, each party claimed the victory.

Eccius hastened to Rome, and, fostering the anger which Leo could not but feel at Luther's insolent letter, he procured him to publish a bull, (a) in which he stigmatized forty-one of the propositions which were contained in Luther's works as false, scandalous, or heretical, and pronounced him excommunicate if he did not recant his errors within sixty days; prohibited him, and all who held his opinions, from preaching; ordered Luther's books to be burnt, and himself to be seized and sent to Rome. The Pope at the same time wrote to the elector, entreating him to induce Luther to retract, or,

Leo publishes a bull
against
Luther
and his
writings.

(a) 15th June, 1520.

CHAP.
V.

if he still refused, to throw him into prison. The letter produced no effect on the elector, and the bull, when published in Germany, excited the indignation of the people, and increased the dislike and contempt they had long begun to feel for the holy see. The jealous anger of Eccius would not permit this bull to remain inactive, and under pretence of carrying it into execution, he procured Luther's works to be burnt at Cologne, Louvain, and other places. Luther was not slow to retaliate; and having caused a pile to be erected without the walls of the city of Wittemberg, he repaired thither, accompanied by an immense quantity of people, in whose presence he deposited several volumes of the decretals of the Popes, the writings of Eccius, and, to crown the whole, a copy of Leo's bull. He then set fire to the pile, exclaiming, "because ye have troubled the holy of the land ye shall be burnt with eternal fire." (a) In his sermons he recommended a similar method of purifying the papal see as the only effectual one; and from this moment war was openly declared between him and the Pope.

Luther endeavours to gain the protection of Charles.

Luther, who knew how essential it was to his personal safety, as well as to the successful promulgation of his doctrines, that he should secure the protection of the emperor, employed every possible means to gain Charles. He wrote him a letter, and in a book which he published about this time, he called upon the em-

(a) Pallavicini, cap. xxii. Lutheri Op., t. ii. p. 320.

peror to protect Germany against the usurped dominion which the Pope unjustly claimed a right to exercise. Erasmus endeavoured to prepare the mind of Charles in favour of Luther, while the enthusiastic and eccentric Ulric von Hutten, by his satirical and popular writings, exerted himself more successfully with the free and thinking people of Germany. (a)

Leo, who at length saw the necessity of making a more earnest attempt than he had hitherto done to stop the progress of this bold inveigher against his authority, sent Girolamo Aleandro, (b) a man whose talents and character

1521.
Aleandro
is sent to
Worms to
prosecute
Luther.

(a) Pallavicini, cap. xxiii. Seckendorf. Comment., l. i. sec. 29.

(b) This extraordinary personage was one of the authors of the "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum." He was a soldier by profession, and distinguished himself by his valour in many engagements, and in several private quarrels to which the irritability of his temper frequently exposed him. The emperor Maximilian conferred upon him the title of Poet Laureate, in consequence of which he had his portrait engraved and prefixed to his works, where he was represented in armour, and crowned with a laurel wreath. He manifested his hostility to the Pope by some whimsical and severe publications, in which he exposed the system of encroaching and rapacious policy which had been long practised by the ecclesiastical government towards Germany. He adopted Luther's opinions, and became one of his warmest partisans. To aid the cause in which he had enlisted, he published Leo's bull against Luther with interlineary and marginal remarks, in which he handled his holiness with so much bitterness and severity that Leo required the elector of Mayence to send him to Rome in irons. The elector thought himself obliged to remonstrate with him, and intimated that his books were so scandalous that they ought to be burnt. Upon this he is

CHAP.
V.

qualified him well for such a task, to the imperial court, for the purpose of inducing Charles to exert his power against Luther. A diet of the empire had been summoned to meet at Worms in January, 1521, and thither Aleandro repaired. He here made an harangue, not less remarkable for its violence than for its eloquence. He insisted that the matter to which he called the attention of the diet was not a question as to the power which the church ought to exercise, or as to the nature of the privileges which it claimed; but that the fundamental doctrines of religion had been attacked by the bold innovator whom he denounced, and particularly the decisions of the council of Constance, which were held to contain the fundamental principles of the constitution of the German church. (a) He concluded a speech of three hours by a request that Luther might be condemned to the death which he had deserved, or that he might be sent in chains to Rome, there to receive the sentence of the Pope; and so powerful was the impression he had made on the diet, that some measure injurious to Luther might probably have been acceded to but for the prompt interference of his staunch friend, the elector of Saxony. He mildly but effectually represented that if they complied with the proposition of the papal

said to have written to the elector a short epistle, in which he said, "If you burn my books, I will burn your towns."

(a) Pallavicini, t. i. pp. 124, 157.

nuncio they would condemn a man unheard, and without, in fact, having ascertained whether he was or was not guilty of that which was laid to his charge; and he therefore suggested that Luther should be summoned to appear before the diet. Aleandro opposed this in vain. Charles himself wrote to Luther requiring his presence, and sent his letter by a herald, who was also the bearer of a safe-conduct, and a promise of personal immunity. The elector wrote to him to the same effect, and the passport was confirmed by the princes through whose territory Luther had to pass.

Luther received these summonses by the emperor's herald, and prepared immediately to obey them, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, who reminded him that the imperial safe-conduct had been no protection to John Huss, or to Jerome of Prague, both of whom had been shamefully put to death under pretexts similar to those now alleged against him. "If there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the house-tops I would go without fear," was the intrepid reply of the reformer. (a) He set out on his journey with the herald who had been sent for him, and accompanied by a large escort of his friends. The herald had been enjoined to prevent him from preaching by the way; but this man had embraced the reformed doctrines, and permitted his ward to harangue the people at Erfurt, and

Luther is
summoned
to the diet.

(a) Luther. Op., t. ii. p. 412.

CHAP.
V.

other towns on his road, in all of which the affection and respect his character and conduct had inspired were openly manifested.

His recep-
tion at
Worms.

He entered Worms accompanied only by eight horsemen, having prudently dismissed all of his friends but these. It was in vain, however, that he sought to shun publicity. As soon as his arrival was known, he was surrounded by crowds more numerous than those which had assembled at the entrance of the emperor. The populace greeted him with loud acclamations; the princes of the empire visited him at his lodgings, and paid him those marks of respect which his firmness and rare talents entitled him to, (*a*) and proved that they felt the importance of the stand which he, obscure and noteless but for his mighty project, was making against the corruptions which had too long enslaved and disgraced their nation.

He attends
the diet.

On the following day Luther was admitted to the diet, and John ab Eyk, (*b*) a jurisconsult, and the chancellor of the archbishop of Treves, who had been appointed to conduct the process, began it by reading the titles of his works, and asking him if he was the author of them. Luther replied that he was, and that, provided no one had altered them, he avowed their contents. He was then asked if he was prepared

(*a*) Seckendorf, l. i. p. 156. Luther. Op., t. ii. p. 414.

(*b*) Although this person bore the name of Eccius, the Latinised form of his own, he must not be confounded with Luther's early antagonist, Eccius, the vice chancellor of Ingoldstadt.

to retract such parts of them as had been condemned at Rome. To this he replied, that as the matters in question involved points of divine faith, he was not prepared on the sudden to reply to this question, which required serious deliberation. Some discussion ensued upon this: it was said that, as he was a doctor of theology, he ought at once to be ready to reply on a subject on which it was his duty to be well informed, and that being the author of the works, he could not but be familiarly acquainted with their contents. At length, however, time was given him to the next day to consider his answer, which it was then intimated to him would not be received in writing. The coolness of Luther, and his determination not to be entrapped into a hasty reply, which might have been turned either to his personal disadvantage, or to the disparagement of the faith he professed, was misinterpreted by his adversaries, who thought it proceeded from fear. (a) Some of them said it was clear that he possessed none of the divine spirit; and Charles himself, whose object was to secure the assistance of the Pope in the prosecution of his designs, whispered some of the persons near him that such a man as Luther would never persuade him to be a heretic. (b)

(a) Pallavicini, l. i. c. 26 and 27. Sleidanus, l. iii.

(b) On this first interview, some circumstances occurred which deserve particular notice. Whilst Luther was passing to the assembly he was surrounded with immense crowds, and even the roofs of the houses were almost covered with

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He appears
a second
time: his
demeanour
there.

Luther appeared once more before the diet, after a night spent in deliberate meditation. The question was repeated to him, and no want of firmness was now discovered in his reply. He said that his writings had been on various subjects, some of them relating to the moral duties of mankind and to practices of piety; these he supposed his accusers did not wish him to retract; that others were against the corruptions of the court of Rome and the defective discipline of the church, and these he never would retract; that in some of his works he had been induced to reproach, in strong terms, the advocates and defenders of the abuses against which he inveighed, and believing, upon a cooler consideration, that he had used words of greater acrimony than suited his peaceful profession, for this fault, which he confessed, he expressed his sorrow. He disclaimed the character of a saint; admitted that his judgment was fallible; said he was ready to defend what he had written, and to correct any part of it which he should be convinced, by fair argument, was contrary to the sacred Scriptures.

spectators. Among these, and even when he stood in the presence of the diet, he had the satisfaction to hear frequent exhortations addressed to him to keep up his courage, to act like a man, accompanied with passages from scripture, "Not to fear those who can kill the body only, but to fear him who can cast both body and soul into hell;" and again—"When ye shall stand before kings think not how you shall speak, for it shall be given to you in that same hour."—Roscoe's *Leo X.*, vol. iv. p. 34.

Without this he refused to retract any portion of his works, and ended this part of his reply by quoting the words of Gamaliel; (a) “ If this counsel, or this work, be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.” He then broke out into a strain of fervent and dignified eloquence, in which he cautioned the young monarch against condemning the Word of God, and bringing upon his realm the discords and miseries which Pharaoh and the kings of Israel had provoked by similar conduct.

The interrogator urged him to give a distinct and unequivocal reply to the question which had been put to him; whether he would or would not retract such parts of his writings as had been condemned. Luther answered calmly and distinctly, that if his conscience were convinced, he would retract; but that he would not do so merely because he had been condemned by the Pope, or the councils which were, like him, fallible; and feeling that the peril in which he was placed, had now assumed its most menacing form, he added, in German, having before spoken in Latin, “ Upon this I stand; I can do no otherwise. God help me! Amen.” His conduct upon this memorable occasion has been variously represented, the Catholic writers affecting to consider that he managed his defence timidly and weakly;—his own adherents, and

(a) Acts of the Apostles, v. 38.

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posterity has confirmed their opinion, believing, on the contrary, that he displayed magnanimity, presence of mind, and abilities of the highest order, when, in the presence of his powerful and malignant foes, he calmly and triumphantly vindicated himself and his doctrines.

Charles
decides
against
him, and
places him
under ban.

Charles's part had been resolved upon before Luther had appeared, and he was not a man, when his interest counselled him to a particular line of conduct, however iniquitous, to be deterred from it by any human feelings of admiration for the man he had determined to sacrifice, or to be convinced, even by the most irresistible arguments, against his will. He presented a paper to the diet on the following day, drawn up with his own hand, in which he denounced the opinions promulgated by Luther, whom he contemptuously called "an individual friar, misled by his own opinion," and, regretting that he had not before brought him to judgment, he ordered him to depart the court, and, according to the conditions of his safe-conduct, not to preach, write, or in any other manner attempt to stir up the people. He added, that he had determined to proceed against him as a manifest heretic, and required the diet to consider the measures which they ought to take in conjunction with him for this purpose. (a)

Several attempts were made after this to in-

(a) The whole of this royal document, which is no less curious for its style than for its sentiments, has been given by Mr. Roscoe in the Appendix to his *Leo X.*, vol iii.

duce Luther to retract ; but he stedfastly resisted the importunities of his mistaken friends, with the same firmness he had displayed against the menaces of his foes. At length, on the 26th of May, Charles published an imperial edict against him, putting him under ban of the empire, ordering his works to be burnt, and forbidding the publication of any writings on doctrinal matters, without the previous license of the ordinary. Charles was urged to take more certain measures for preventing Luther's repeating his offence, and it is probable that if there had been no other restraint upon the inclination, which the emperor had so openly avowed, he would have listened to these suggestions ; but Luther's popularity induced him to pause. He was surrounded by friends in the city, and reports were afloat, that a body of four hundred German nobles had undertaken to provide by force, if it were necessary, for his safety. Accompanied by the imperial herald, who was charged with the care of seeing him safely to Wittemberg, in pursuance of his passport, Luther departed from Worms, followed by a troop of friends, whose presence was a greater security to him than the emperor's protection. At the end of his third day's journey he returned his safe-conduct into the hands of the herald, and dismissed him. He proceeded to Eisenach, where he dispensed with the further attendance of his friends, and having entered the Thuringian forest, near Altenstein, he requested the greater part of the few who

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Luther
withdraws
from
Worms.

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Is seized on his return to Wittemberg by the elector of Saxony, and placed for safety in a castle of the Warteburg,

where he writes in favour of the Reformation, and translates the New Testament.

remained with him to go before to Waltershausen, at which town he was to sleep, and prepare his lodgings. Soon after they were gone, a party of men disguised, and wearing masks, rode up to him, dragged him violently from his horse, placed him on one of their own, and carried him off. This was a contrivance of the elector of Saxony, who had ordered two of his officers thus to provide for Luther's safety, and to convey him to one of his castles in the Warteburg, without acquainting him with which of them, that he might reply to the emperor with a safe conscience, that he did not know where Luther was, if Charles should ask him. In this retreat, which, in allusion to the island whither the apostle John was banished, Luther called his Patmos, he employed himself in keeping up, by the influence of his pen, that spirit of reformation which he could no longer openly and personally foster. Here he translated the New Testament, and began his church homilies, besides many tracts which were rapidly published, and eagerly distributed throughout Germany. Among them were his treatises on the abuse of masses, against monastic vows and auricular confession, the exposition of the Psalms, and the declaration of the Magnificat.

The mystery which had attended Luther's disappearance, had its share in keeping up the interest which his name had excited. At first it was believed he had been assassinated by emissaries of the court of Rome; a corpse, stabbed

in various places, had been found at the bottom of a mine, and being believed to be Luther's, a popular tumult ensued at Worms, in which the lives of the papal nuncios were in danger. The appearance of his writings, however, satisfied his friends that he was still alive; and while they looked anxiously for his appearance among them they greedily devoured all that appeared in print under his name. It was however by the publication of his version of the New Testament which he had made in his native tongue, that he struck the most effectual blow at the papal authority. The perusal of that part of the Holy Scriptures roused the attention of the great mass of the people, and by contrasting the pure and simple doctrines of Christianity, as revealed by the word of God, with the odious abominations practised by professors of the Romish church in Germany, made every honest and thinking man a champion for the defence of that reformation which the monk of Wittemberg had so gloriously begun.

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Jealousy between Francis and the Emperor—The grounds of their differences—State of Spain—The discontent of the people presents a favourable opportunity for attacking Navarre—Francis sends an army under Lesparre to assist Henri d'Albret—The campaign in Navarre—Ignatius Loyola—Navarre gained—And lost—Lesparre defeated and made prisoner—Charles complains of Francis's conduct—De la Mark reconciles himself to Francis—Defies and attacks the Emperor—Who accuses Francis of encouraging his enemy—Proposal to refer their differences to Henry VIII.—Charles invades the French frontier—Takes Mouzon and besieges Mezières—Francis prepares to repel the attack—The gallant defence of Mezières by Bayard—The siege is raised—Success of the French troops—Francis has an opportunity of defeating the Emperor in person, which he neglects—He deprives the Constable Bourbon of his right of leading the vanguard of his army—Bonnivet leads an army to the assistance of the king of Navarre—His rapid success—Conference at Calais agreed on—Proceedings of the Commissioners—The Conference broken up—Bonnivet's further success in Navarre—Affairs of Italy—The discontent of the Pope against Francis—Cruel and sanguinary government of Lautrec in the Milanese—He attacks

Reggio in person, in the absence of Lautrec, which determines the Pope to enter into an alliance with the Emperor—Lescun prepares for defence, and calls upon Lautrec to resume his government—Having obtained a promise of a supply of money from Francis for payment of his troops, he returns—Proceedings of the armies—Lautrec misses an advantageous opportunity of attacking—The Swiss desert from his army—He is defeated at Rebec—Driven out of Milan, and loses the whole of the State, with the exception of Cremona—Francis's anger against his Lieutenant at this event—The death of Leo X. by poison.

CHAPTER VI.

THE personal dislike and jealousy which Francis and Charles entertained towards each, rendered it almost impossible, considering their aspiring tempers, that they could long pursue their respective careers, without a hostile encounter. There were besides several political differences between them; each fraught with such cause of quarrel, as might easily be made the pretext for a war,

1521.
Jealousy
between
Francis
and the
emperor.

Charles had promised to do right to Henri d'Albret, the young king of Navarre, respecting his paternal dominions, which the unprincipled Ferdinand had wrested from his father; but as yet no steps had been taken to perform that promise; and Francis was bound, by his plighted word, to assist the deposed king in the prosecution of his claim. The rights of the French king, on Naples too, formed a subject, which required adjustment, and Charles still remained in possession of that kingdom, and had evinced no disposition to abandon any part of it. The duke of Gueldres, who had been a faithful and serviceable ally to France, complained loudly of the injustice which he experienced from the emperor, and implored the succour of France, to enable him to defend

The causes
of their dif-
ferences.

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himself. Charles, on the other hand, was not without causes of complaint, which he alleged against Francis. He pretended that the duchy of Burgundy, which had been usurped by Louis XI., against the right of the princess Mary, had descended to him, and he therefore demanded restitution. In his character of emperor too, he claimed to have a sovereign power over Milan, of which Francis could have no title otherwise than as his feudatory, but of which the French king had never condescended to ask the investiture ; and he frequently inveighed against Francis, for affording protection to his enemies, and for secretly encouraging the troubles which prevailed in his Spanish dominions.

The state
of Spain.

Spain indeed appeared at this time in a state of most dangerous fermentation. The administration of the government had been confided by Charles to Adrian, the cardinal bishop of Tortosa, who had been his preceptor, and who had since more usefully served him, by watching over his interests at the court of Spain, during the latter years of the reign of Ferdinand. He was a Fleming by birth, a circumstance which made him disliked and distrusted in Spain, and the lowness of his origin shoked the pride of the haughty Spanish aristocracy, who saw, with disgust and scorn, the son of a barge-builder at Utrecht raised to a station of dignity and power, which they thought could only be properly filled by one of their own privileged class. The lower ranks of the peo-

ple caught the discontent which was felt by the nobility, and loud murmurs, followed by open insurrection, testified the unpopularity of their king and his representative. On the evening of the day before the proclamation of Charles, and his distracted mother, as sovereigns of Aragon and Saragossa, the vice chancellor, who was attached to the king's interests, was attacked in the streets, and narrowly escaped assassination. This affair took place in the presence of a concourse of people, who, instead of seizing, facilitated the escape of the assassin. When the king's absence relieved them from the little restraint they had before felt, they broke out into open revolt. The greater part of the nobility, terrified at the violence of the spirit they had themselves raised, withdrew from the cities, and the insurrection remained almost wholly a popular one. It began at Valladolid, and spread widely and rapidly. A league, called the Santa Junta, was formed, into which the inhabitants of the principal cities entered, and at the head of it was placed the bishop of Zamora, a dissolute and turbulent priest, and Don Pedro de Giron, and Don Juan de Padilla; men who were as weak in executing as they had been rash in devising their dangerous project. The rebels took possession of the castle of Tordesillas, and pretended to justify their proceedings by carrying them on in the name of the maniac queen who resided there. At first, they announced

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only a design of excluding the Flemings from the offices to which, as it was thought, they had been unjustly appointed; but growing bolder by success, they attempted to effect the cruel project of marrying the unhappy queen to Ferdinand, son of the late king of Naples. He, however, refused to concur in this expedient, which would have given a new monarch to Spain; for Charles's right to reign was only in consequence of his mother's inability. The Flemish ministers, and their dependants, were so much alarmed at the peril in which they were placed, that they were ready to enter into any terms that were proposed to them; and at every submission which they made, the Junta became more exacting, and more insolent. Charles's influence seemed almost extinguished. His viceroys, of Castile and Aragon, exerted themselves as well as they were able to repress the tumult; but against an armed and united population their utmost efforts were soon limited to defensive operations. They were without ammunition or artillery; the whole strength of the country was in the hands of the rebels, and the misrule and confusion, which are naturally attendant upon civil commotions, prevailed almost unchecked throughout Spain.

A juncture more favourable than was thus presented for the king of Navarre to attempt to regain his kingdom, could hardly be conceived. He earnestly entreated Francis to lend him such assistance as would enable him to commence an

The king of Navarre resolves to attempt the recovery of his kingdom.

attack. Some of the discontented in Spain had written to Francis, requesting him to let Henri d'Albret enter Navarre, which they assured him must prove an easy conquest, since all the troops which had garrisoned that province were withdrawn by the cardinal governor, for his own safety, to the interior of Spain. (*a*)

The inhabitants of Navarre, also impatient of the tyranny under which they were held, called loudly for assistance from him whom they considered their rightful monarch; (*b*) and thus Francis had many plausible inducements, besides the jealous resentment which he felt towards the new-made emperor, for attempting to wrest from him this frontier kingdom, which was a powerful security to his realm of Spain. He determined to comply with the request of Henri d'Albret; but to save appearances, ordered the war to be carried on in the name of that prince, and that his own should not appear.

An army under the command of Lesparre, one of the brothers of the countess de Chateaubriant, through whose hands the highest court

Francis lends him an army commanded by Lesparre.

(*a*) Pet. Mart. Angler., Epist. 721.

(*b*) The people of Navarre sent a requisition to Henri d'Albret, dated the 25th of June, 1521, calling upon him to vindicate his own rights, and to rescue them from the usurped dominion which was exercised over them. Their epistle ended with the following emphatic terms: "Sire, paraissez seulement; aussitôt vous verrez jusqu'aux pierres, aux montagnes, et aux arbres, s'armer pour votre service."—MSS. de Bethune, No. 8496, fol. 10. Bibliothèque du Roi, apud Gaillard, t. i.

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VI.The siege
of Pampe-
luna.Ignatius
Loyola.

favours were now distributed, marched towards Navarre. The most brilliant and rapid success attended the first efforts of this general, who, to no mean military skill, added a most romantic courage. He proceeded without interruption to Pampeluna. The inhabitants of the city welcomed him with open arms, but the citadel held out; and although the viceroy of Navarre, the duke de Najarra, found it impossible to send a force sufficient to check the progress of the French army, the desperate valour of a young officer, who assumed the command of the garrison, sufficed during several days for the defence of this important place. This soldier, whose name was afterwards to occupy so important a place in the history of these and the subsequent times, was Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the celebrated and mischievous order of the Jesuits. When at length he was forced, by the unanimous wishes of his companions, to a capitulation, which his uncompromising spirit scorned, he insisted upon being present when the terms were to be settled, and finding the demands of the French more imperious than he thought could be honourably acceded to, he broke up the conference, and returned to the citadel, determined to be buried in its ruins, rather than yield it discreditably. The attack was then resumed by the French, and Ignatius, in leading an assault, had one leg broken by a cannon-shot, and the other crushed by a falling stone. With him sunk the hopes of the defenders of the ci-

tadel; Pampeluna was surrendered, but the desperate resistance of the young enthusiast won the respect of the assailants, who treated him with the greatest attention, and sent him in a litter to his family-seat of Loyola. This advantage, important in itself, was still more so in its results; the whole kingdom followed the example of Pampeluna, and in less than a fortnight all Navarre was regained.

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Navarre is regained.

If Lesparre had joined caution to his courage, he might have secured the advantage he had gained; but his temerity leading him to penetrate into Spain, the nobility of Castile were alarmed, and roused the people from their domestic rebellion, by representing to them the danger to which the whole nation would be exposed if this attack of France should not be repelled. They hastily combined their forces, and marched to Logroño, which Lesparre had madly attempted to besiege; drove away the French army, weakened as it was by licentiousness and want of discipline, pursued them beyond Pampeluna, and came to an engagement in the plain of Siquiros, where the Spanish infantry proved their excellence by utterly routing the invaders. Lesparre was doomed to experience the pains of captivity, as well as the disgrace of a defeat. His courage, which was always of a too impetuous kind, partook in this engagement of the fury of despair; he saw that all was lost, and probably with the determination not to survive his disgrace, he gave no further orders to

Lesparre attacked and defeated, and made prisoner.

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the troops, but rushed into the thickest fight, courting death from the hands of the Spaniards. Even this poor consolation was denied him : he was assailed on all sides, and received so many blows from a mace, that his casque was battered and crushed into his face, and he lost his sight for ever. The slaughter was immense. With Lesparre were taken St. Colombe, his lieutenant, and several other leaders ; but many more were killed on the field, the great proportion of which were Navarrese or Gascons, who had kept up the fight after all reasonable chance of victory had long departed. Thus, in less time than had sufficed him to gain Navarre, Lesparre had shamefully lost the whole of it, with the exception of St. Jean Pied de Port.

Navarre is
lost.

Charles
complains
of Fran-
cis's inter-
ference.

Although the enterprise on Navarre had indicated plainly enough the spirit by which Francis was actuated, still the just pretensions of the king of Navarre, as well as the obligation which Francis was under to aid his attempt, sheltered the king from the charge of having provoked a war. Some letters had however been found when Lesparre was made prisoner, which were said to shew a determination on the part of Francis to attack Charles, and that he had made use of Henri d'Albret's name only to justify the aggression. The emperor did not fail to make an advantageous use of these letters. To the Spaniards he communicated them, to shew the necessity of their abandoning all domestic discord for the purpose of effecting their common

security against so formidable a foe, and to the Pope, and the king of England, he sent them, in proof of the accusation he brought against Francis, of being bent upon disturbing the peace of Europe, and of gratifying his ambition at the expense of his neighbours. (a) They had the effect of producing the impression he desired; but events were at hand which were to fan the smouldering sparks of discord into flame, and to prove, much more unequivocally than the emperor's representations, Francis's hostile determination.

Robert de la Mark, the lord of Sedan, was the owner of the duchy of Bouillon. A quarrel had long subsisted between the prince de Chimay and the baron d'Emeries, respecting the small town of Hierges, in Ardenne, to which they severally laid claim, and which the peers of the duchy had decreed to belong to the prince. D'Emeries, who had assisted Charles in his election by his money and his influence, obtained as a recompence, permission to bring an appeal to the emperor, against the decision of the peers. De la Mark, who claimed to hold his duchy, independent of the power of the emperor, complained of this infraction of his privilege, and of being treated with neglect by Charles; and he at once offered to renew his former friendship and engagements with Francis. His loss had been too keenly felt not to make his re-adhesion welcome. The duchess d'Angoulême loaded

Robert de
la Mark is
reconciled
to Francis.

(a) Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 435. Petr. Martyr. Epist. 727.

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the lady of La Mark with civilities, the influence of the gallant Fleuranges was exerted to confirm his father's inclination, who paid a visit to the king at Romerentin, where the consequences of his wound still detained him, and a perfect reconciliation was effected between them. The command of his old troop, and the payment of his accustomed pensions, were readily offered to de la Mark; and Francis believed, not without reason, that, in gaining the assistance of so powerful and active a noble, and one too whose domains being on the frontier, would serve him as an effectual barrier against any attack which might be made against him in that quarter, he strengthened himself no less than he weakened the emperor. (*a*)

Defies and
attacks the
emperor.

De la Mark was not a man to endure patiently a wrong like that which the emperor had inflicted upon him. With an audacity which seemed perfectly ludicrous, this feudal baron sent a defiance to the emperor, who was then in the diet at Worms, threatening him with war, (*b*) and proved that his menaces were not without meaning, by laying siege to the emperor's city of Virton, in the Luxembourg.

(*a*) Belcar., l. xvi. Mem. de du Bellay, l. i.

(*b*) Fleuranges, in his Memoirs, states this somewhat differently from the general body of historians, who suppose the defiance to have been addressed to the emperor himself. Fleuranges says, that he added a personal defiance on his own part to that of his father, and that they were both addressed to the Lady Margaret of Austria, as Regent of the Low Countries, who sent to Worms to apprise the emperor of the fact.

Charles could have no reason to fear so powerless a foe. He sent the count of Nassau to chastise his insolence, by devastating his domain, a commission which the count performed with a ferocious cruelty, which was at once opposed to the practices of war and revolting to humanity. He dispatched also ambassadors to the king of England, to whom he affected to complain of the infraction of the peace which he alleged had taken place under the influence of the French king, and another to Francis himself, for the purpose of learning whether he countenanced de la Mark's attacks. The vanity of Henry was flattered by this mark of deference, and he earnestly remonstrated with Francis upon the insolence of de la Mark's proceeding; but at the same time he expressed an opinion to the emperor that the cause of quarrel was not enough to justify a war. (a) He took this occasion for exhorting them both to appoint a conference at Calais, whither he purposed to send Wolsey as his own minister, for the purpose of settling the differences between them. Francis replied to Charles's embassy by discountenancing the lord of Sedan's proceeding, and gave a proof of his sincerity by enjoining de la Mark instantly to lay down his arms. De la Mark obeyed, in the certainty that the emperor would not then keep up the hostility; and as soon as he had deprived himself of the means of defence, the

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Charles complains to the king of England.

Henry proposes a conference at Calais.

(a) The correspondence on this subject is in the MSS. Cotton, Cal. D. 8.

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Charles in-
vades
France,

count of Nassau took advantage of his position to pursue his attack with redoubled ferocity. De la Mark was obliged to sue for a truce, which he obtained; but the emperor made so good a use of the opportunity which it afforded him, that, upon its expiration, he was enabled to seize the whole of the lord of Sedan's territory, and immediately afterwards marched a part of his forces upon the French frontier.

and takes
Mouzon.

Francis could not endure this proceeding either patiently or safely. He sent to the emperor for an explanation of his intentions, and received for answer an assurance that he sought and meant only to punish de la Mark, and had no hostile intentions against France; the falsehood and insincerity of which reply was proved by the count of Nassau passing the Chers, and laying siege to the French town of Mouzon. (*a*) The moment had now arrived which had been wished for on both sides, although neither monarch had thought it advisable to avow his real desires. Francis burned for an opportunity of convincing the electors of Germany that they had done him injustice in preferring Charles's claims to his; and Charles wished to convince them that they had chosen an emperor who was as able as he was willing to protect their interests, and uphold his own glory. They nevertheless, however, continued to appeal to Henry VIII., whose alliance and support each of them wished for, and which

(*a*) Sleidan. Comment., l. iii.

they sought to gain by pretences to moderation, which were contrary to their intentions, and belied by their conduct.

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Francis, however, soon found that he could place little reliance upon the fair offers which were made him from England. Charles's superior skill in diplomacy, or, as may be more fairly surmised, his larger promises to the rapacious and aspiring prelate who directed the English councils, gained Wolsey to his interests. The mediation of the English king Francis discovered was proffered only to put him off his guard, and he had already given it as his opinion, that de la Mark's conduct deserved punishment, and that, as the emperor had not attacked France, he had done nothing of which Francis could justly complain. This latter event however had now happened, and the French king was free to act upon it. Although, therefore, he consented to the proposed conference, he determined to rely singly on his own resources in a conflict which he saw was inevitable, and which he had little inclination to avoid, even if he might. He set on foot the army which he had been preparing, and which he disposed so as to cover the points on which he had most reason to expect an attack. The influence of the countess de Chateaubriant had secured to the maréchal de Lautrec the government of the Milanese; the defence of Champagne was committed to the duke d'Alençon; the duke de Vendôme assumed the government of Picardy;

Francis makes preparations to repel the emperor's attack.

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and the king's favourite, the admiral Bonnivet, marched to Guyenne.

Mezières
is besieged,
and de-
fended by
Bayard.

Upon the frontier of Champagne the war was alone kept up at first. Mouzon was taken by the imperial troops, and having thus gained an entrance, they attacked Mezières, which was extremely weak, and very ill supplied with men and provisions, but which was yet well defended, for Bayard commanded the garrison. His name acted like a spell upon the most gallant spirits in France. Not only his own troops felt the utmost confidence in his presence, but some of the most enterprising of the French chivalry flocked to a place which they knew must be the scene of glory. Young Montmorenci, who was ambitious of the honour of serving under him, repaired to Mezières with his troop, and several other leaders, of higher rank than his, hastened to join him with their forces as volunteers. The count Nassau, whose army was large and well appointed, summoned the seemingly defenceless place to surrender, and upon Bayard's indignant refusal, (a) prepared to take a signal vengeance upon those whom he had already marked for his victims. The besieging forces were so disproportioned to the weak state of the place, that some of the troops in the garrison resolved not to share the desperate

(a) "Tell him who sent you," replied Bayard to the herald, "that if ever I quit alive a place which my master has entrusted to my care, it shall be over a bridge of my enemies' corpses."

enterprise of a defence, and, in spite of the threats and entreaties of their commanders, two whole companies deserted in a body through a breach which the enemy's artillery had made in the wall. Bayard, far from being disconcerted at an event which might have produced consequences of the utmost mischief to his garrison, summoned the remainder of his troops, and coolly congratulated them on being rid of a set of cowards, who incumbered the defence, and who would, if they had remained, have claimed a share in glories which they had not courage enough to win. The details of the defence of this place would be incredible but that they are consistent with the whole tenour of Bayard's life, which seems to surpass all that fiction ever conceived. The sallies which he made were so opportune, and conducted with so much discretion as well as bravery, that they invariably succeeded. The breaches in the walls were repaired, as it were, by magic; and the besiegers had the mortification to see a fortress, which they thought incapable of a day's defence, and the whole force in which did not exceed a thousand men, baffle, during six weeks, an army of five and thirty thousand soldiers, with a heavy force of artillery.^(a) At length the provisions began to grow scanty, sickness made dreadful ravages in the little garrison, and yet there was no prospect of relief. Bayard, who was as fertile in expedients as he was ready in

(a) Mezeray says it was during this siege that the use of bombs first came into practice.

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action, succeeded in sowing dissensions between the count of Nassau and Sickinghen, who had lately joined his army. He addressed a letter to de la Mark, in which he spoke of a pretended design of the count of Nassau to quit the emperor's service, and advised him to put it in practice before an attack, which was meditated by a large body of Swiss on Sickinghen, should be made, in order that the count might avoid the disgrace of a defeat, of which Sickinghen must be the victim. He dispatched this letter by a countryman, with such instructions as made it certain that it would fall into the hands of Sickinghen's scouts. The plan succeeded; the partisan believed that the count meant to sacrifice him, and he quitted an advantageous position which he had taken up, and from which he might have annoyed the fortress, in order to prevent the suspected treachery of his colleague. During the confusion which this proceeding occasioned, Bayard made an attack, that was extremely destructive to the besiegers; and, although they soon afterwards came to an explanation, he gained so much time as enabled the king, who had marched with his army to Rheims, to throw a powerful relief into Mezières, while the duke d'Alençon advanced the main body of his army to within three leagues of that place. The imperial general being satisfied, not without some difficulty, (*a*) that the place was succoured,

The siege
is raised.

(*a*) Picart, a celebrated captain, who commanded in the imperial army, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there

raised the siege, and withdrew his army, without waiting the further advance of the French force. Francis wrote a letter of somewhat impious exultation to his mother (*a*) on this event, and recompensed Bayard, who, up to this time, with the most brilliant reputation in the French army, had no higher rank than that of lieutenant, by conferring on him the command of a company of men at arms, and the collar of the order of St. Michael. (*b*)

was a scarcity of provision, sent a trumpet to the fortress to ask his old companion in arms for a bottle of wine. The commandant sent him two bottles, one of old and one of new wine, and shewed the trumpet a large cellar well filled with hogsheads, without, however, explaining to him that the greater part of them contained only water.—Belcar., l. xvi. It was Picart who, when he heard that Bayard defended the place, said he would rather there were two thousand men more in the garrison if he alone were away.

(*a*) This letter, which is among the many proofs that Francis gave, at this period of his life, of an almost boyish vivacity, is in the following terms :—“ A Madame. Madame. Tout a seteure ynsy que je me vouloys mettre o lyt est aryvé Laval, lequel m’a aporté le serteneté deu levemant du syege de Mesyeres je croy que nos anemys sont en grant pene vu la honteuse retréte qu’yl ont fet. Pour tout le jour de demayn, je soré le chemyn qu’ys prandront. Et selon sela il nous fodra gouverner. Et s’yl on joue le pasyon, nous jourons la vanyanse. Vous suplyant, Madame, vouloyr mander partout pour fere remercyer Dieu. *Car sans poynt de fote il a montré ce coup qu’yl est bon François.* Et fesant syn à ma letre, remetant le tout seur le porteur, pry à Dieu qu’yl vous doynt tres bonne vye et longue. Vostre tres humble et tres obeysant fils—François.”—Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 444.

(*b*) Belcar., l. xvi. Mémoires de du Bellay, l. i. Hist. du Chevalier Bayard.

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VI.Success of
the French
army.

The imperial troops, baffled in Champagne, turned their attack towards Picardy, marking their progress by the fiercest and most cruel ravages. (a) The king hurried after them with all possible dispatch, to repress and punish their detestable outrages, while his officers were employed in repairing the damage they had done on the frontier of Champagne. The duke d'Alençon retook Mouzon, and the duke de Vendôme penetrated into Artois and Hainault, where he took and dismantled Bapaume and Landre-
cies. It was to a lucky accident that he was indebted for gaining the latter place. It wanted less than two hours to sunset when the French troops reached and sate down before it. Four or five ensigns of the Picardy regiments walked up to the walls during the evening. Two of them, fancying they saw a place by which an entrance could be effected, had the temerity to mount the wall. They were, of course, immediately repulsed, and thrown into the ditch, one of them being mortally wounded. The incident, however, had inspired so much terror in

(a) In a letter written by Francis to his ministers at the conference at Calais, he speaks of the cruelties exercised by the imperial troops upon the defenceless inhabitants of the country through which they marched, in the following terms : " Ils brulent et pillent quelques petites villes, despourvues de gens et sans force, et tuent tout ce qu'ils y trouvent prêtres, femmes, et jusqu'aux petits enfans dedans les berts (berceaux) qui sont exploits desplaisans à Dieu, et dont le sang crie vengeance contr'eux."—MSS. de Bethune, No. 8467.

the minds of the citizens and seven or eight hundred lanz-knechts, who composed the garrison, and who feared they should, on the following day, have to sustain an assault which they were incapable of effectually resisting, that they quitted the place during the night, having first set fire to it, crossed the Sambre, and threw themselves into the forest of Marmaux, whither they were not pursued.

At about the same time the emperor met his retreating army at Valenciennes, with a considerable reinforcement; and Francis, learning that his rival was with his troops in person, his desire to come to an encounter with him became still more ardent. He threw a bridge across the Scheldt; and the count of Nassau, whom the emperor had sent to dispute the passage, arrived just in time to see that his opposition would be ineffectual, while nothing but the intervention of a thick fog prevented his force being cut to pieces. If the wiser advice of Bourbon, la Palice, and la Tremoille had been followed, this result must inevitably have happened; but the doubts which had arisen respecting the numbers of the count's detachment, and the pernicious advice of the *maréchal de Chatillon*, prevailed to deprive Francis of the signal advantage which he might easily have gained. (a) It was upon

Francis misses an opportunity of defeating the emperor in person.

(a) Fortune never favoured him in a similar manner during his whole subsequent life. "Il semble," says Mezeray, "qu'en depit qu'il ne l'avoit pas embrassée à l'heure qu'elle lui tendoit les bras, elle eut juré de le fuir toujours,

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The king
deprives
Bourbon of
the com-
mand of the
vanguard.

this occasion, too, that the king committed a fault, and an injustice, the consequences of which he had occasion bitterly to repent. De Bourbon claimed, in right of his office of constable of France, to lead the vanguard in crossing the Scheldt; but the king, whom his mother had influenced against that nobleman, chose to confer this distinction, an empty one perhaps, but still one in which the feelings, if not the honour of one of his most valuable adherents was involved, on the duke d'Alençon, and thus laid the ground for that dislike which ensued on the part of the constable, and which was afterwards the cause of reducing Francis to a disgraceful captivity, and of putting his kingdom in the most imminent peril.

The empe-
ror re-
treats.

The emperor, who had a more correct sense of the danger of his position than Francis had formed, fled precipitately, and the king on the following day learnt that he had let slip this most fortunate juncture. He however secured the Low Countries' frontier, relieved Tournay, and drove away the marauding parties who had distressed and desolated the neighbourhood.

Bonnivet
attacks
Navarre.

At the same time Bonnivet, who had been dispatched with a considerable force of lanzknechts to the succour of the young king of Navarre, aided Henri's efforts so powerfully, that by a rapid series of successful exploits, several important places were taken, and the

et de ne se presenter jamais à lui."—Abr. Chron. Hist. de Franc. 1^{er}.

admiral laid siege to the strong fortress of Fontarabia with such earnestness, that the defenders were glad to capitulate.

The conference at Calais.

Henry had continued during all this time to offer to take upon himself the arbitrement of the differences between the sovereigns which indeed might have been easily settled, if either party had entertained any sincere wish for peace. Francis, who distrusted the influence of Charles in the English court, cared little to engage in a negociation which he saw it was too probable would be decided against him ; besides, he was flushed with the advantages he had gained, and the desire to humble his rival had a much stronger influence upon him than that of restoring peace to his country. Charles, on the other hand, who had effected a secret treaty with Wolsey, by which he had secured the actual assistance of English troops, (a) was willing enough that the English minister should arrange the quarrel, or at least that Francis should be diverted from the pursuit of his plans. The importunities and intrigues of Wolsey, who

(a) Turner's *Henry VIII.*, l. i. c. x. where he cites a letter of Pace, the king's secretary, to Wolsey, in which he writes, on the 28th July, "The king have concluded, according to your advice and counsel, to put in readiness five or six thousand archers, to be ready to do service at such time as your grace shall have concluded with the emperor according to such communications *as ye have had between you both* in that behalf. He will devise upon a great captain to conduct them."—MSS. Cotton. Galba, B. 7. f. 87.

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had excited the duchess d'Angoulême's fears, at length succeeded in obtaining the consent of both monarchs to send their ministers to a conference at Calais, at which the cardinal was to preside as the representative of Henry, in all the mimic dignity of sovereignty.

On the part of Francis, the chancellor du Prat, the maréchal la Palice, the president de Selve, and Robert Gedoyn, were entrusted with this commission, while Charles's interests were represented by the Spanish chancellor, Gattinara de Bergnes and the abbé Saint Bertin, with two jurisconsults, Josse and May.

The points
in discus-
sion.

The main points to be decided were the restitution of Navarre to its rightful monarch, and the adjustment of Francis's claims on Naples. To these Charles had added his pretended claim to the duchy of Burgundy and the enfranchisement of Artois and Flanders, which he held as fiefs of the French crown. It had been agreed that hostilities should be suspended during this conference, but Bonnivet nevertheless continued his operations against Fontarabia, while Charles endeavoured to excite disturbances in the Milanese, and attempted to surprise Ardres, but was defeated by the courage and vigilance of its defenders.

The pro-
ceedings of
the com-
missioners.

The commissioners met in August, and some weeks were past in attempts to bring the object of their meeting to a termination. On the part of the French chancellor there appears to have been an earnest desire to effect an ac-

accommodation, but the insolent duplicity of Wolsey baffled all his endeavours. He spared no pains to conciliate the haughty cardinal, (a) and it was not until he was convinced of the utter insincerity of the churchman's proceedings that he relinquished his attempts. (b) The

(a) The lavish presents which were made to Wolsey by the various foreign powers, shew, in a striking point of view, the notion which was entertained of his avaricious temper, and the expediency of indulging it. The following letter of the chancellor du Prat, written to Francis, from Calais, on the 1st of September, 1521, during the conference, is a curious instance of the compliance which it was thought advisable to manifest with his humour, while it evinces the sincerity of the intentions of the French minister to effect an accommodation if it were practicable: “Sire, le cardinal en allant à la Messe, se tiroit à peine sur sa mule, et m'a dict qu'il étoit grevé en façon que ne pouvoit endurer le cheval. Si m'a demandé si avoye une licetière. J'eusse voulu en avoir une, et qu'il m'eust consté deux fois autant qu'elle pourroit valoir: Sire, vous lui ferez chose fort agréeeable, si votre plaisir étoit de lui en envoyer une, vous congnoissez le personaige et voyez le temps qui court, elle ne seroit pas perdue; et d'autant que a madame (the duchess d'Angoulême) en grande vénération, quand la don se feroit au nom d'elle, m'a semblé, soubz correction, que n'y auroit que biens et que l'en trouveroit meilleur, car scet que vous n'en usez point, et penseroit que seroit de celles de madame.”—MSS. de Bethune dans la Bibliothèque du Roi, No. 8491, fol. 29.

(b) Mr. Turner, in his admirable history of Henry VIII., a work which, for the depth of research and perfect knowledge of the cotemporary history is unrivalled, has some excellent observations upon this conference. “The original letters,” he says, “from Henry, from Charles, and from the cardinal, preserved in the British Museum (which, it may be observed, Mr. Turner has brought to light with

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whole business of the negotiation was carried on with a levity and frivolity which proved that the other ministers meant nothing but to temporize. (a)

Wolsey, in the first instance, proposed a truce for six or ten years, during which time the questions in dispute were to remain undecided, and this being rejected, he procured an embassy to be sent directly from Henry, offering that the

most laudable diligence) shew, what, if it were on subjects of common life, between man and man, we should unhesitatingly call the knavery of this pretended mediation and umpirage. The only person that was acting with openness was Francis. He was ambitious and restless; but he was frank. He pursued the war, refused truces, and resolved to press his advantages. Wolsey sailed to Calais as one who was to be an impartial arbiter between two great sovereigns, and personating as such both his royal master's and his country's integrity, and yet went with secret schemes and treaties agreed on between himself and the emperor, for hostile measures against Francis: a mockery of all unbiassed equity, sullyng the honour both of the nation and the throne."—Book i. c. x.

(a) Du Prat had said in one of the conversations with the emperor's minister, that he would consent to lose his head if his sovereign had aided Robert de la Mark against Charles. The Spanish chancellor claimed du Prat's head as forfeited, for, he said, he had in his possession letters which proved Francis's connivance with Robert de la Mark. "My head is my own yet," replied du Prat, "for I have the originals of the letters you allude to, and they in no manner justify the scorn you would put upon them." "If I had won your head," replied the imperial chancellor, "you might keep it still. I protest I would rather have a pig's head, for that would be more eatable."—MSS. de Bethune, No. 8179.

emperor should raise the siege of Tournay, and desist from any attempt on the Milanese, on condition that Francis should withdraw his troops from Flanders and Navarre, and that the questions between them should be decided by the king of England when he might see fit. Francis, who by this time had grown completely disgusted with the conduct of the English king and the English minister, (a) rejected

(a) Wolsey threw off all disguise at this time, by visiting, in a style of ostentatious splendour, the emperor at Bruges. He had before been solicited to do this, by a letter from Charles, written in August, 1521, (printed in the Appendix to Mr. Galt's Life of Wolsey,) which displays through its diplomatic obscurity, of which it may be cited as a model, the terms of confidence and friendship which existed between England and the emperor. After acknowledging the receipt of letters of the 5th of the same month, he thanks him for the care he expresses for his person: "*Ensemble la bonne affection et inclinacion que vous avez touchant la traité et indissoluble conjunction d'entre le roy, mon bon oncle, et moy.*" The letter proceeds—"Je demeure aussi en ma resolution que j'ai toujours désiré c'est de conclure, avec vous moy mesmes, et user entierement de v're bon avis et conseil, et faire cela je feusse désiré en mon arme, à ces causes, et que vou cognoissoit le grande dommage que ce mest, de tant retarder mes aff'res, lesquelles sont telz que ne me peuent souffre plus grande dillacion, et sou les choses si tres avant que je ne puis ni voudroyt reculler de ce que j'ay entrepris, je vous prie sur tous les plaisirs que me voudriez fer que vueillez avoir bon regard à ce que dessus. Et pour y prendre la totale co'clusion vous vouloir trouver à Bruges dymanche prochain jusques auquel jours je vous y actendray com bien que ce me soit grosse retarducien et me ne laisse jamais pense si longue, car, sant point de fauête il me feroit ung

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The conference is broken up.

the proposal without hesitation, a determination which he was perhaps assisted in forming, by having learnt from Bonnivet that he had gained Fontarabia, and by believing his admiral's boast that Saint Sebastian would fall next.

The hostile proceedings of the contending monarchs were in the mean time carried on with varying success on either side. Tournay was taken by the emperor's troops, while those of Francis had their revenge in the capture and sack of the rich town of Hesdin ; and the winter passed in skirmishes, the general result of which was favourable to France.

State of Italy.

The affairs of Italy however had assumed, during the same period, an aspect by no means favourable. At first every thing seemed to go on prosperously. The power of France there, strong in itself, appeared to be still stronger by the alliance which Francis had proposed to enter into with the Pope, (a) and which he had

dommange irreparable passer les jour n'y sentendre plus avant ce que je suis.....ne vauldriz point et si me voulez comme bien li pouves fa....et espert que ferez je ne faire nulle doubtte que vous et mois aurant fait en deux ou trois jours au plus tard ; car nous feront plus en ung jour vous et moy ensemblée que ne feroient mes ambassadeurs en ung mois." And by way of inducement, he promises to shew him his army, which he says, will convince the cardinal that with the aid of God and his good friends, he does not mean to go to sleep.

(a) The terms of this treaty were, that the Pope should refuse to acknowledge Charles the Fifth's claims to the crown of Naples, and assist Francis's enterprise against that kingdom, upon condition that Francis should cede to the Pope the city

promised, to induce the Venetians to join. The preparations were actually in progress for an attack upon Naples, but Francis still delayed to ratify the treaty, either from that addiction to pleasure, and the consequent neglect of his public affairs, which he now had begun to manifest, or because he believed that the proffered mediation of the king of England might yet produce the effect at which it aimed. The Pope had called in the assistance of some Swiss troops, who were to be kept at the joint charges of the king of France and his holiness, and their appearance in Italy had induced some of the Neapolitan troops to enter the papal territories. (a) Leo thus assailed, called upon Francis to take his share of the proposed war; but the king was deaf to his appeal, although it was reiterated in urgent and some angry terms. Lautrec, who governed the Milanese, manifested an utter want of respect for the holy see, and the tone of the subaltern officers of the French government, who followed his example, induced Leo to suspect that Francis was engaged in a compromise with the emperor. (b)

of Gaeta, and the territory between the Garigliano and the states of the church. It was stipulated also, that the throne of Naples should be occupied not by Francis personally, but by his son Henry, and that the king should assist the Pope against the rebel feudatories, including the duke of Ferrara, and the duke of Urbino, his allies.

(a) Guicciardini, l. xiv.

(b) The bishop of Tarbes, who was at the head of the administration of ecclesiastical affairs in Italy, had abetted

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Lautrec's
barbarous
govern-
ment in the
Milanese.

His resentment added to this suspicion, prepared him to relinquish Francis's doubtful friendship, when an affair happened which at once confirmed the dislike he had begun to entertain. Lautrec's government had been tyrannous and cruel. Believing that he could only maintain his power by the exercise of rigour, he had put to death and banished many of the principal citizens of Milan, upon accusations of being disaffected to the government:—a charge which was in many instances untrue, and which in all cases required to be treated with more discretion than he had manifested. In his absence, when he paid a visit to France, for the purpose of celebrating his marriage with the daughter of the count Albret d'Orval, his brother Lescun, the maréchal de Foix, succeeded to the government, and even surpassed him in severity. The number of the exiles had become so great, as to excite alarm in the mind of the governor, who, knowing that a large body of them had taken shelter at Busseto, a small fortress belonging to Cristoforo Pallavicini, sent Chardin, one of his officers, to remind that nobleman that it did not comport with his allegiance to his sovereign to afford countenance and protection to persons of

Lautrec's contemptuous demeanour towards the Pope, in a manner which was excessively offensive to his holiness. The bishop refused to receive his bulls; disobeyed them, or put them into execution, when and how he thought fit, and even indulged in contumacious expressions against Leo.—Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 447.

such suspicious fidelity. Pallavicini was induced by the exiles to believe that the real object of Chardin's visit was to ascertain the strength of his place, which Lescun meant to surprise. He extorted from the envoy, by means of torture, such an avowal, as tended to confirm his suspicions, and then most unjustifiably sentenced the officer to be hanged. Immediately after the execution of this iniquitous and barbarous sentence, he fled with his followers to Reggio, where Morone, the late chancellor of Milan, whom Lautrec had compelled to quit the city, and other fugitives had for some time resided, and had been exerting their utmost means against the French interests. Lescun, irritated beyond all measure at this insolent cruelty, demanded the fugitives from Guicciardini, the celebrated historian, who was then the Pope's governor of Reggio; and upon his refusing to deliver them, Lescun commenced an attack upon the city, in which he was totally baffled; but which act of open and unjustifiable aggression, afforded Leo the opportunity he was too ready to avail himself of, for breaking with Francis. (a) Lescun, who saw the mischief he had committed, when it was too late to repair it, sent la Mothe Grouin to offer his excuses to his holiness, and to appease him. Leo would not listen to his apologies; he complained loudly and bitterly of the want of faith of the French government, and affected to be impelled by his anger at the attack

(a) Guicciardini, l. xiv.

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on Reggio to conclude a treaty with the emperor, while in truth the particulars of that treaty had long been agreed on, and awaited only such a favourable moment for publishing them, as had now arrived. (*a*)

The war is
resumed.

The consequences of the Pope's change soon became apparent. Hieronimo Adorno, who had been banished from Genoa, endeavoured to surprise it by sea, with galleys manned and furnished by Leo and the emperor, but the vigilance of Octavian Fregosa frustrated the attempt. At the same time the Milanese exiles, whose hopes were revived, and their means strengthened by his holiness's declaration, laid a scheme for attacking at once the cities of Como,

(*a*) At this time an accident happened at Milan, which, distressing in itself, was also extremely unfavourable to the hostile operations which were about to become necessary. The lightning struck the arsenal in which the supply of ammunition for the whole district was contained, which was just about to be distributed to the different fortresses. Twelve thousand tons of powder, and a provision of salt, sufficient for five years, were at once destroyed. The explosion threw down a tower of the citadel, all the houses in the immediate neighbourhood, killed a great number of persons, among whom was Richebourg, the commandant, three hundred soldiers of the garrison, and a quantity of citizens, whom the fineness of the weather (for the sky is said to have been perfectly serene immediately before the explosion) had tempted to walk on the esplanade. Leo made an adroit, if not a very pious use of this fatal accident, and represented it as a visitation from the apostolical hand of St. Peter himself, who had chosen the day of his own festival, (the 29th June) to inflict this signal mark of his vengeance on those who were the enemies of his successor.—Belcar., l. xvi.

Milan, Cremona, Parma, and Piacenza. Manfred Pallavicini, who had engaged the services of the partisan chieftain, Matto de Brinzi, and his troop of German and Italian bandits, intended to attack Como on a public festival, when it was believed the garrison would be off their guard, and when his adherents in the city would be able to aid him. Garrou, the governor, not only prevented their design, but attacked them so unexpectedly, that he cut them to pieces, and took the two leaders, who were put to death with circumstances of horrible barbarity. The fate of this enterprise occasioned the abandonment of all the others. The particulars of the Pope's league with the emperor were now disclosed. They were to aid each other in expelling the French from the Milanese, and in re-establishing Francesco Sforza upon the throne of the duchy. The emperor undertook to assist the Pope and the republic of Florence in all their enterprises; to regain for him the territories of Parma and Piacenza, which he was earnestly bent on obtaining; to grant pensions to the cardinal de' Medici, and to Alexander, the natural son of Lorenzo; and to increase the Pope's levy on Naples. The Pope recognised the emperor's claim to the latter kingdom, of which he gave him investiture, and received from him a white hackney, the accustomed token of vassalage. (*a*)

(*a*) This treaty had been carried by Charles, without the advice or knowledge of his governor and adviser Chievres. When the latter heard that his hitherto tractable pupil had

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Lescun
prepares
for de-
fence.

Lescun exerted himself strenuously to make preparations for the war, which he saw was inevitable, and in which he had to encounter great odds. The Pope's and the emperor's forces were strengthened by the assistance of the marquis of Mantua, whom the ill-treatment of the French government had occasioned to withdraw from their service, by the state of Florence, and by a considerable number of Swiss, whom the intrigues of the cardinal de Sion had enlisted on their side. Against these he had to oppose his own army, the troops which the Venetians, true to their engagements with France, had sent to his assistance, and a levy of Swiss, which he had made with great haste on the first news of the war. He wrote to Francis, informing him of the steps he had taken for the defence of the Milanese: but at the same time he called upon his brother to return in all haste, and to resume the difficult and dangerous burthen of his government.

Lautrec
resumes
the go-
vernment.

Lautrec, however, had powerful reasons for not yielding to these entreaties, until he had completed such arrangements with the French government, as would ensure a sufficient supply of money for the payment of his army, without which he knew the approaching campaign must be unsuccessful. He knew too, that the duchess

concluded an affair of so great importance, without his cooperation, he is said to have taken the mortification he felt so much to heart, that it shortened his days.—Belcar., l. xiv. He died, uttering an exclamation prophetic of the "world of mischiefs," which were about to ensue.—Mezeray.

d'Angoulême, who had become excessively jealous of the influence which the countess de Chateaubriant exercised over the king, had vowed the destruction of their whole family; and he believed, that, in accomplishing this end, she would not scruple to sacrifice the interests of France in the Milanese. He stipulated, therefore, that the money he required should be advanced to him before he quitted the court; and it was not until he was overcome by the united importunities of the king and of his sister, and their assurances, backed by the promises of the chancellor du Prat, and of Semblançai, the finance minister, that he should receive four hundred thousand crowns, the sum he had required, immediately upon his arrival at Milan, that he consented to depart. He then returned to his government, and renewed the severities which had before rendered him unpopular, and which were as unpolitic and odious at this period of excitement, as they were at all times unjust. (a)

The preparations of the confederate army now required his immediate care. They had threatened to besiege Parma; but some disagreement which ensued between Prospero Colonna, who, as the Pope's generalissimo, claimed the supreme command of the allied forces; and Ferdinand d'Avalos, the young and presumptuous mar-

Campaign
in the
Milanese.

(a) His first victim was Cristoforo Pallavicini, who had fallen into the hands of his brother, whom he caused to be beheaded, although the judge before whom he was tried, refused to sign the sentence under which he was put to death.

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quis of Pescara, who thought his rank as leader of the emperor's forces entitled him to the same post, occasioned so much delay, that before they had effected their intention, Lautrec had time to put the place into a state of defence. Lescun entered the town to defend it in person, and the maréchal d'Aubigny, and other celebrated leaders, served under him. The allied forces pressed the place, however, so strongly, that, but for the opportune arrival of Lautrec himself, it must have surrendered. The governor's presence, with an army which, although it was not strong enough to attack the allies effectually, yet kept them in check; a diversion which was made by the duke of Ferrara, in the state of Modena; and some suspicion which the Spaniards entertained of Leo's sincerity; procrastinated the siege. This delay became so disadvantageously felt, that the propriety of raising the siege was deliberated in council, and at length resolved upon, but not without a great difference of opinion among the leaders. (a)

If Lautrec had pursued the retreating army with vigour, he might probably have unfitted them for a renewal of their attack; but the disturbed state of the Milanese, the consequence of the disaffection which his savage government

(a) Guicciardini was one of the officers who most strenuously resisted the raising the siege; and Pescara, although he had inclined to that measure, wrote to the Pope, attributing the failure of the siege to Colonna's too deliberate caution.

had occasioned, prevented him from taking so decisive a step. He felt that he was surrounded by enemies, the most dangerous of which were those who did not avow themselves; and it was this, and the distraction which ensued from it, that enabled the allied forces to pass the Po without interruption, a step which placed them within the reach of the succours they expected, and which the French general ought to have intercepted. At length he pursued them, and having overtaken them near Rebec, the occasion for a general engagement presented itself; his forces were equal to theirs, so that if he had fought them, he had every reasonable hope of the victory, while, if he had chosen to keep them in the post they had taken up, their want of provisions must have given him a decided advantage. He availed himself of neither; but committed the irreparable fault of letting them retreat in the night unmolested. (a) The consequence was one which changed the whole face of the campaign. The allies effected a junction with twelve thousand Swiss, whom the indefatigable cardinal de Sion had raised, and led in person to their assistance, and at the same time their army was recruited by six thousand Italian foot. While the power of the allies was thus

(a) His Swiss troops, who had been a long time without pay, complained loudly of this proceeding, and demanded the rewards they had usually received after a battle, upon the ground that it was the general's fault an engagement had not taken place, and in the presumption that if they had fought they must have conquered.

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increased, that of the French army was diminished. The Helvetic body became sensible of the disgrace of seeing the Swiss fighting against each other, under the banners of the two opposing armies. They issued orders to their soldiers, as well in the pay of France as in the ranks of the allies, to repair home instantly. The cardinal de Sion intercepted the orders addressed to the Swiss whom he had raised, while he took care they should be received by those who were in the French army. The latter obeyed the order unhesitatingly, and the cardinal had the address then to engage the same troops to join their countrymen under his standard, assuring them that it was against France alone the order of the diet was directed; and in order to convince them, he alleged, as proof of the truth of his statement, the fact that he was permitted to retain his own troops; thus making the very fraud he had committed, the means of giving it fuller effect.

Lautrec, thus deserted by a large part of his army, and on whose assistance he most relied, was obliged to confine his operations to the defensive. The allies now in their turn assailed him, and compelled him to retreat to Milan; and, following up their success, they attacked that place by night, so vigorously and so warmly, that they took the town (in which they were assisted by the discontented people); and Lautrec, surprised, and only half dressed, had barely time to retreat to Como, leaving a part of his troops to

Lautrec
loses Milan,
and is
driven out
of Italy.

garrison the castle, under the command of Mascaron, a Gascon leader. Pescara followed Lautrec to Como, compelled him to retreat to the territory of the Venetian state for security, and at the end of ten days, Como surrendered to the allies, who, at the same time, took the town of Cremona. The citadel of the latter place, however, still held out, and Lautrec having by a desperate effort thrown in some troops, attacked and regained the town, which was now the only place of all his government where his authority was recognised, or that afforded a shelter for his person.

Francis received this distressing and humiliating news at the time when the conduct of the English minister gave him too much reason to believe that he must reckon Henry among his numerous enemies. In the first transport of his anger, he loaded the *maréchal de Foix*, whom Lautrec had made the bearer of his dispatches, with bitter reproaches for the negligence and want of skill his brother had displayed in the campaign; for the violence and cruelty which had led to the war; and for the loss of men and money, and territory, which had ensued. The *maréchal* found it at first impossible to reply to Francis's just indignation; but his sister's power soothed the angry monarch, and induced him to listen to the excuses which *de Foix* had to offer. He detailed the circumstances which led to the disastrous result that

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had been experienced; palliated his brother's conduct on the score of the insecurity of the country, which rendered severity necessary; and, throwing the blame upon the Swiss, who had deserted at the critical moment when their services were most needed, and promising largely to recover all that had been lost, he obtained from Francis the promise of speedy succours.

At the end of the year 1521, and while Lescun was at the court, Francis received intelligence of the death of Leo X., who, if he was not his most active enemy, had on many occasions manifested himself to be that worst of foes, a false friend. It was said that joy, at hearing that Parma and Piacenza had fallen before his troops, caused him so violent and sudden a transport of joy, as brought on a fever, which rapidly terminated his existence; but it seems probable that his death may be much more reasonably attributed to poison. (*a*)

Death of
Leo X., by
poison.

(*a*) Leo was contemplating a public thanksgiving for the success of the confederate arms, when he was seized by illness; and within six days afterwards, on the 1st of December, 1521, he died. Paris de Grassis, his master of the ceremonies, says explicitly, that the appearance of the body induced him to suggest its being examined, where the most certain indications appeared of the Pope's having died by poison. He relates, also, that an unknown person had called upon one of the monks in the monastery of St. Jerome, and requested him to inform the Pope, that an attempt would be made to poison him by means of his linen. This was con-

veyed to the Pope, who declared that if such was the will of God, he must submit; but that he should adopt all possible precaution. When afterwards he fell sick, he complained much of an inward heat, and with his last words, declared that he was murdered, and that he could not long survive.—Roscoe, Leo X., vol. iv. p. 328, where the authorities respecting this mysterious event are collected.

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Competitors for the Papal Throne—The Cardinal of Tortosa is elected—Francis sends Lautrec with an army into Italy—Milan is attacked, but holds out—The Battle of Bicocca—The French defeated—Cremona capitulates—Genoa is taken—Lautrec returns to Court—Is reproached by Francis—Explains the causes of his Failure—Accuses Semblançai, the Finance Minister, of having withheld the requisite supplies—Semblançai justifies himself by shewing that the Duchess d'Angoulême had kept back the Money destined for the Troops—The Duchess procures his disgrace—He is executed—War on the Spanish frontier—Charles negotiates with Henry—Visits England—They conclude a treaty against France—Henry's embassy to Francis—The interview between Francis and the English envoy—War is declared—Campaign in the Low Country frontier—Francis assists the Pretender Pole, who threatens to invade England—and d'Aubigny, who opposes the English interests in Scotland—Proposes to renew his treaty with the Venetians—Intrigues by the English and Imperial Agents—The Venetians declare against France—Rhodes attacked by the Turks—The gallant defence of the Grand Master—The Island is taken—The policy of the Pope—Cardinal Soderini intrigues to favour an attack on Sicily by Francis—The plot is discovered—The Pope joins the Emperor's party.

CHAPTER VII.

THE death of a Pope, who was so well disposed to aid with all his power the designs of the confederates, suspended their proceedings, and, while the election of a successor was yet uncertain, inspired them with alarm. Among the members of the college of cardinals, all of whom were qualified to accede to the vacant dignity, there were two competitors, on one of whom it appeared almost certain that the choice must fall. The one was the cardinal de' Medici, the nephew of the late Pope; the other Wolsey, the English cardinal. The first had many adherents in the conclave; and, reckoning upon the efforts which the late Pope had made to secure his succession, he felt confident of his election: the second had sacrificed his country's interests and his monarch's honour to gain the assistance of the emperor, with which he made no doubt of attaining this object of his highest hopes; but he had yet to learn that Charles was a profound adept in the science of dissimulation, which Wolsey had knavery enough to attempt, but not talent enough to practise with equal success. He sent Pace from Venice, where he had been employed in negociations on the part of England to Rome, for the express purpose of soli-

1522.
Competition for the
Papacy.

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citing the votes of the cardinals in his favour; but the cunning of this fit tool of Wolsey's design was thwarted by the superior craft of the emperor's emissaries. The conclave was assembled on the 27th of December. The emperor, true to the letter of the promise he had made to Wolsey, affected to support his interests. Francis had many reasons for wishing to exclude the cardinal de' Medici, who he believed would pursue his predecessor's policy; but he had none for raising to the much-coveted dignity the cardinal of York, who had of late evinced a most hostile disposition towards him. It was rather, therefore, to prevent the election of either of them than to promote that of any other particular candidate, that he exerted such influence as he possessed in the conclave, and sent the cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine to Rome to assist at the election. (a) The votes of the cardinals fluctuated between these two rivals, the party of the cardinal de' Medici having always the ascendancy, but yet falling short of the requisite majority, of two-thirds of the whole number. At length, on the 9th of January, 1522, the thirteenth day of the conclave, when the tediousness of delay began to be felt universally, the cardinal of Saint Sixtus nominated, as if by inspiration, a man who was not present, whose name was scarcely known in Rome, and

(a) They did not, however, reach the city, the news of the election being terminated meeting them on their road.—
Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 469.

who of the whole college of cardinals would have been thought least likely to be elected. This was Adrian, cardinal of Tortosa, the preceptor of Charles's boyhood, and now his governor in Spain. Then, for the first time, the emperor's real designs became apparent, and their disclosure was instantaneously followed by their success. Twenty-six cardinals at once declared for the cardinal of Tortosa; the others either joined them or gave up their opposition. The influence which Charles had been secretly, but most earnestly, exerting triumphed, and the person whom he had nominated was elected almost unanimously. (*a*)

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The Cardinal of
Tortosa is
elected.

The power and consequence of Charles was exalted by the result of this election in a most remarkable degree. He had made whatever influence the holy see might possess his own; he had convinced all Europe of his talent for intrigue; and the brilliant reward which he had conferred on his tutor intimated, even to those who were not wholly dazzled by his success, that he had the inclination, as well as the power, of rewarding such persons who would adhere to his interests.

Francis felt that he had neglected an oppor-

(*a*) Guicciardini says, the election not only gave the greatest dissatisfaction to the Roman people, but that many of the cardinals themselves were utterly ashamed of the choice they had made; and that the cardinal Gonzagua, on coming out of the conclave, replied to the populace, who were loading him and his brethren with abuse, "You are too good to confine yourselves to hard words; we deserve to be stoned at the least."—l. xiv.

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tunity which might have been turned to his advantage, if he had engaged in it earlier and more energetically. He, however, took the only course that was likely to counteract the advantage which his rival had gained, and pursued his design upon the Milanese by sending to Lautrec a supply of money, and a promise of more, and by procuring him at the same time a levy of sixteen thousand men in Switzerland, (*a*) which la Palice marched across the Alps. This succour raised the almost sunken hopes of the French. Lautrec was in the field again, and seemed determined to make amends by his present activity for his former supineness. Several of the smaller towns in the Milanese yielded to him, and he hastened to Milan itself, the garrison of which, though hardly pressed on all sides, still gallantly held out. He began an attack upon the city, which might have been successful but for the hatred with which his rule then had filled every bosom against him. The defence was kept up with an energy that baffled all his efforts, and Morone, a second cardinal de Sion in his animosity against France, by means of an Augustine monk, called Andrea of Ferrara, who possessed a powerful eloquence that gave him great weight with the populace, added the

Lautrec
returns to
Italy.

(*a*) The diet of the Helvetic states disclaimed with indignation the infamous practices of the cardinal de Sion; and proved their sincerity by refusing passports to the envoys of the allied forces, at the same time that they granted to Francis as many soldiers as he required.

the excitement of religious enthusiasm to the horror with which the inhabitants already regarded the French governor. (a) The walls of the city had been repaired and fortified by Prospero Colonna, whose vigilance prevented the attack of the French, while a part of his force incessantly assailed the citadel. (b) Lautrec, being convinced of the hopelessness of his attempt on this city, withdrew his forces, besieged and took Novara, and effected a junction with such troops as his brother brought to his assistance, and among whom were Pietro da Navarra and the Chevalier Bayard.

Milan
holds out;

Colonna whom these successes of Lautrec forced to quit Milan, for the purpose of relieving Pavia, which the French troops were about to attack, made so good a use of the opportunity which his march afforded, that he enabled Francesco Sforza to join him, with a force which he commanded. They returned together to Milan, where the arrival of Sforza was hailed with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy by the people, who indulged the hope that he would re-

and is re-
lieved by
Colonna.

(a) Du Bellay, l. i.

(b) Lautrec, while reconnoitring the new fortifications, with some of his officers, was observed by Prospero Colonna, who directed a cannon to be fired at them. The shot struck Marc Antonio Colonna, one of the most distinguished of the French leaders, and Camillo Trivulzio, an illegitimate son of the late maréchal. Lautrec narrowly escaped; and Colonna was nearly distracted when he learnt the result of the shot, which, as it is said, had been directed by his own hand.—Brantome.

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store them to the secure and prosperous condition they had enjoyed under that glorious ancestor whose name he bore.

Colonna
entrenches
himself at
Bicocca.

Colonna then relieved Pavia, and marched to Bicocca, where he took up a very advantageous post. This place, which has become so celebrated by the sanguinary battle of which it was the scene, consisted of a castle, situated in a large park, which had been formerly used as a chase by the dukes of Milan. It was surrounded by deep ditches, which rendered attack very difficult, and was not more than a league distant from Milan. Colonna had so added by his arrangements to the natural strength of the spot, that Lautrec, after reconnoitring, determined not to attempt it. He was, however, forced to change this prudent resolution. The Swiss troops had long impatiently insisted on receiving their arrears of pay, while the ill-faith of the French government, in withholding the promised supplies of money, had prevented Lautrec from complying with their demands. They now clamorously assailed the general, and required either their pay, or to be led to the attack, or leave to depart. Lautrec pointed out to them the great strength of the post which the enemy occupied, and the almost certain failure of an attack in the present situation of affairs, and urged them by their own reputation, and by their friendship for Francis, to have patience. (a)

(a) Brantome says, with great bluntness, but also with great good sense, " Il les devait très bien et beau laisser

The Bastard of Savoy and la Palice added their persuasions, but in vain ; and as the numbers of the Swiss would have made their desertion no less ruinous than a defeat, the general felt himself compelled, however reluctantly, to give orders for the assault.

On the following morning, at daybreak, the march was begun ; Montmorenci led the advanced guard, Lautrec commanded the battle, and the duke of Urbino brought up the rear. Montmorenci having reached a defile near the entrenchments, would have waited until his artillery had come up ; but the impetuous Swiss, were bent upon fighting, and as they placed little reliance at any time upon artillery, they now tumultuously insisted upon going onwards without delay. Colonna, whose spies had served him so well, that he was perfectly ready to receive them, opened a destructive fire, which swept away whole files of them as they advanced ; while the entrenchments, behind which he had placed his guns, were so high that the Swiss could hardly touch them with the points of their pikes. The carnage was dreadful. Three thousand of the Swiss fell, and among them was their celebrated leader, Albert de la Pierre. Montmorenci was so badly wounded, that he could not continue the fight. At the same time de Foix had forced an entrance to the entrenchments, at the head of

Lautrec is compelled, by the mutiny of the Swiss, to attack him.

The battle of Bicocca.

aller, et les recommander à tous les diables ; car jamais le fait ne va bien quand il faut que le général obéisse à ses soldats et combat à leur volonté."—Mém. Art. Lautrec.

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his gendarmes, and might have kept it, but that the Swiss of his division refused to assist him. He was driven out, and his troop cut to pieces. Colonna saw the advantage he had gained, and at this moment directed a sally to be made, for the purpose of taking the Swiss in flank, a manœuvre which might have succeeded, but for Pontdormy, who met the troops sent upon this enterprise, with his gendarmes, and drove them back with loss, by which he prevented a total and disastrous defeat. The Swiss had now tried all that the most desperate courage could suggest, and finding it was hopeless to prolong the fight, they determined to retreat. Lautrec, who, although he was defeated, had deserved to conquer, besought them to remain in view of Bicocca, and to renew the combat on the following day. He proposed to make four attacks on four different points, and offered to relieve the Swiss from the post of danger, by putting the French men at arms in the front of the battle. This might have retrieved the glory they had lost, but nothing could make the Swiss docile. They determined to retreat, and effected their determination in so much disorder, that, but for the cavalry, which the general sent to protect them, they must have been almost exterminated; and in this temper it was that they absolutely quitted the French army, and proceeded without pause to their own mountains.

The French army is defeated.

The Swiss desert.

Lautrec's position was now a most painful and perilous one. He had lost in the battle

many of his best officers, and a large proportion of men. The desertion of the Swiss had reduced his army to one half of its numbers. He garrisoned Lodi; but Pescara having surprised it, the whole of the troops in that place became his prisoners. The Venetians, hitherto the untired allies of France, began to assume a coolness, and Lautrec found it necessary to send Montmorenci to Venice, for the purpose of preventing a rupture with the only friends they had left in Italy. Having strengthened the few places which still adhered to France, he set out to Paris, to carry in person the news of his disastrous campaign, and to take such measures as might yet be practicable for averting the evil effects that were likely to spring from it.

Lautrec carries the news of his defeat to Paris.

Colonna followed up the advantage he had gained, with all possible dispatch. He invested Cremona, into which the *maréchal de Foix* had thrown himself, with the remnant of his troops, and which the French general might have kept, but for the faithlessness of an ally in whose cooperation he had implicitly trusted; *Giovanni de' Medici* had accompanied him, with about sixteen hundred Italians of his troop, and had been entrusted with the guard of one of the gates. While Colonna was threatening the place, *de' Medici* made a most inopportune demand of the arrears of pay which were due to his men, and angrily threatened to deliver the place to the French, unless they were satisfied. *Lescun* raised, with great difficulty, and by the assis-

Colonna retakes several places.

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Cremona
capitulates.

tance of his officers, a sum which sufficed to pacify de' Medici; but not venturing to rely upon him after so flagrant a violation of good faith, he proposed to Colonna a capitulation, by the terms of which he bound himself to yield the city, unless, within three months from that day, Francis should have an army in Italy in a state to succour the place. The consequences of this capitulation were most mischievous to the French interests. The Venetians, who had before been hesitating whether they should sign the treaty to which they were solicited by Montmorenci, immediately declined, in the conviction that no army could arrive from France within the time stipulated; and that after the surrender of Cremona, Brescia and Bergamo could not hold out. But the most fatal result of this arrangement was that, by relieving Colonna from the necessity of keeping his army before Cremona, it left him at leisure to pursue his plans against Genoa. He ordered the marquis of Pescara to march against that important place with the whole of the Spanish infantry, and some of the Italian troops, in the hope that he should be enabled to procure from its capture money enough to satisfy his soldiers, who had now become clamorous for their pay. Pescara's appearance struck terror into some part of the inhabitants, while it revived the confidence of the faction hostile to the French interests. A diversion was, however, effected by the appearance of Pietro da Navarra, who at the same time sailed into the port with two galleys and about

Genoa is
attacked;

two hundred French soldiers. He prevented the surrender of the city, which was talked of, but could not hinder a deputation of the citizens from going to Pescara in his camp for the purpose of treating with him. While this negotiation was pending, and in the confidence that no attack would be made, the guard was but negligently kept up. Some of Pescara's Spaniards, who had discovered a breach in the walls, effected an entrance by it; they were soon followed by other parts of the army, as the general pretended without his knowledge or sanction; and the city was taken with no other defence than such as was offered by Pietro da Navarra, who, with his Frenchmen, maintained, in the great square, an ineffectual resistance against an attack which was treacherously seconded by some of the inhabitants. At length he was obliged to yield, and although a small portion of his followers gained the citadel, it was so ill furnished with provisions, that it was impossible for them long to maintain it. Octavian Fregosa, who was and taken. sick, was taken a prisoner in his bed, and his old enemy, Antonio Adorno, proclaimed doge in his stead. The city was gained almost without striking a blow, and Pescara had the double pleasure of enriching his own followers by its plunder, and of disappointing Colonna, whom he detested, of the supplies he hoped to draw from Genoa. This event concluded the declension of the French power. The three months stipulated for the relief of Cremona had expired;

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a French army had arrived in Italy, but the loss of Genoa rendered its operations useless. Francis ordered Lescun to evacuate the city, and thus the activity of his enemies, the misgovernment of his officers, his mother's intrigues, and his own fatal negligence, once more left him, of all his Italian possessions, nothing but the citadel of Cremona, which, under the defence of the gallant Janot d'Herbouville, still held out.

Lautrec's
reception
at court.

Lautrec experienced a most mortifying reception on his arrival at the court. His enemies, of whom he had a considerable number, had employed all their influence to prejudice the king's mind against him, and his own ill success had too powerfully seconded their efforts. Francis refused to admit him to his presence; but even this did not discourage him. He knew that his defeat was mainly to be attributed to the failure of the supplies which had been promised him, and he exerted himself assiduously to gain an interview with the king, perfectly convinced that if he could once explain the causes of his miscarriage, he should exculpate himself. He applied to the duke of Bourbon, who was well disposed towards him, and who took up his cause the more warmly when he learnt that the *maréchal's* justification would involve the exposure of the duchess de Angoulême's rapacity. By the influence of the duke, and still more, perhaps, by means of the incessant importunities of the countess de Cha-

teaubriant, to whom it was difficult for Francis to deny any thing, Lautrec obtained the desired interview. The king received him coldly, and even angrily. Lautrec began the conversation by asking Francis to explain the cause of his displeasure, which was too evident. Francis broke out into vehement reproaches against him, and asked him, whether the man whose misconduct had lost him the duchy of Milan deserved any other reception. This was exactly what Lautrec desired. He replied warmly and firmly, that the loss of the Milanese was not attributable to him; and that if the assurances which had been made him before he set out had been performed, if the king's own pledge had been kept, the province might still have been his in spite of all his enemies. "Your majesty's gendarmes," he continued, "have served for eighteen months without touching one sous of their pay: the Swiss, whose custom in these matters your majesty well knows, were kept in your army by my persuasions alone. They did not quit it until after a bloody and disastrous battle, in which they fought, without discretion it is true, but with valour and fidelity which ought to have commanded victory. To that battle they forced me against my better judgment; but it was their very need that urged them to so desperate an expedient, and it was mine that compelled me to yield to their demands. It is your majesty's misfortune to have lost the duchy; and the only fault I have committed, if that be

Obtains an audience with Francis, in which he explains the causes of his failure, and justifies himself.

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one, is to have trusted to promises, some of which I now suspect were made only to betray me." Francis was struck by the intrepid calmness of the general, no less than surprised at the tenour of his discourse. He asked what had become of the four hundred thousand crowns which had been sent for the payment of the troops. Lautrec replied, that he had received his majesty's letters announcing such a supply, but that no part of the money had reached him; nor, as he believed, had it ever crossed the Alps. Francis's anger was not diminished by this reply; but Lautrec was no longer the object of it. The king sent for Semblançai, the finance minister, and asked him what had become of the money in question; and was informed by him, that it had been taken by the duchess d'Angoulême, by virtue of her authority as regent, for her own use, and that he had her receipt for the sum. The king hurried immediately into his mother's chamber, and demanded an explanation of her conduct, which had had so fatal an effect upon his interests. She denied Semblançai's accusation with the utmost effrontery; and although she admitted that she had received, at the time in question, a sum of four hundred thousand crowns from the minister, she insisted that the money was her own, the produce of her savings for many years, which she had deposited with Semblançai for safe custody. The king, impatient at the contradictions which ensued between his mother and the minister, and not ven-

Recriminatory scene between the duchess d'Angoulême and the finance minister.

turing then to examine to the bottom an affair which he believed must end in the disgrace of one whose reputation he had every inducement to protect, said to Lautrec he was satisfied; and that he now saw they had not gained the victory because they did not deserve it; to his mother and to Semblançai he enjoined silence. "Let us try," he said, "to understand our own interests better for the future, but, above all, let us not turn traitors to one another."

Lautrec was restored to the king's favour. The countess of Chateaubriant's influence was once more in the ascendant, and the duchess d'Angoulême, exposed and disgraced, meditated a signal vengeance on Semblançai, who had been the means of her detection. Her malice was not the less fatal for being a short time suspended. He continued in his office until 1524, when money was wanted for another Milanese expedition, and Semblançai, who was known to be very rich, having refused to make an advance which the king solicited, on the score that three hundred thousand crowns were then due to him, of which he most inopportunately urged the payment, the duchess thought the occasion favourable for his ruin. She fomented the king's anger until she procured the dismissal of the minister, who, not unwilling to be relieved from duties which his years rendered him unable to discharge with ease, retired to his estate near Tours. She then commenced a civil process against him for the balance of the pretended deposit she had

The duchess d'Angoulême pursues Semblançai to death.

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made with him, and put in practice all the influence she possessed, and all the arts of which she was so accomplished a mistress, for the purpose of compassing the destruction of a man to whose fidelity and probity she had formerly borne testimony in unequivocal terms. (a) By means the most unjustifiable, Prevot, his secretary, was induced to accuse him of peculation. The old man was arrested, and committed to the Bastille. Du Prat, the duchess's creature, and Semblançai's bitter enemy, was his principal judge. The charges against him were eagerly received; he was convicted of malversation in his office, and sentenced on the 9th of August, 1524, to be hanged, which sentence was shortly afterwards carried into execution. (b) The conduct of the

(a) " J'ai été acertené que le principal secours de la despense est venu par le moyen du Sr. de Semblançai, et par les emprunts particuliers qu'il a faits en son propre et privé nom, et dont il a fait cedules et promesses en divers lieux; et com bon loyal et affectionne serviteur n'a jamais regardé à sa seurete pour l'avenir, mais y a mis le tout pour le tout et pour dix fois plus qu'il n'a vaillant. Le roi le doit rémunérer de ses services ainsi que chacun congnoict qu'il merite et qu'il appartient à recongnoistre à ung si grande maistre." —MSS. de Beth. No. 8503, fol. 18. The king too had always testified respect and affection for him, which he seems to have merited, and was in the habit of calling him his father.

(b) The manner in which this venerable victim met his fate is differently related. Du Bonchet says, that he wept bitterly over the injustice of his sentence, and that he cherished, up to the very moment of his death, the fond belief that the king would grant his pardon. Other writers represent him as having encountered his undeserved death with

duchess d'Angoulême on many occasions was fatally injurious to France, but no act of her life contributed so much to excite the detestation of the people, as the remorseless cruelty with which she is believed to have brought about the death of this minister, whose only crime was, that he would not submit to a censure he had not incurred, in order to shield her from the disgrace which her rapacity had merited.

The relation of this affair, in which the laws of humanity, and the rules of justice, were equally violated, have withdrawn us from the course of the events which took place at this period. The French arms experienced little better success beyond the Pyrenees, than in Italy. Jaques de Daillon, seigneur de Lude, to whom the defence of Fontarabia had been entrusted, kept the Spanish army in check for more than a year. At the end of this time his garrison was

War on the
Spanish
frontier.

the firmness of a philosopher, and the resignation of a man conscious of his own innocence. Marot, in one of his poems intitled *Du Lieutenant Criminel et de Semblançai*, has made the contrast between the intrepidity of the aged minister and the agitation of Maillard, who superintended his execution, the subject of an epigram.

“ Lorsque Maillard, juge d'enfer, menoit
A Montfaucon Semblançai, l'ame à rendre,
A votre advis lequel des deux tenoit
Meilleur maintien ? Pour le vous faire entendre,
Maillard sembloit homme que mort va prendre
Et Semblançai fut si ferme vieillard
Que l'on cuidoit pour vrai qu'il menât pendre
A Montfaucon le lieutenant Maillard.”

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so much reduced by sickness and famine, that it was impossible for him to hold out much longer. Several attempts had been made to succour him by sea ; but the vigilance of the Spanish privateers had hitherto baffled them all, and those which had been made by land had failed still more disastrously. The enemy had possession of all the country round about, and despair began to weaken the resolution with which the gallant officer had hitherto maintained his defence. Francis, notwithstanding the troubles which beset him, made an effort to save this place. He dispatched an army, commanded by the marquis de Chatillon, who had no sooner reached Dacqs, than he was seized with a dangerous illness. La Palice was sent to fill his place, but not until a most injurious delay had been suffered to intervene. He marched towards Fontarabia, and came in sight of the Spanish army, which was encamped on the other side of the river, prepared to dispute his passage. The vice-admiral of Brittany, who was to have aided him by sea, was detained by contrary winds ; the time was pressing, and la Palice determined to attempt the passage with no other assistance than that of his own troops. He planted his cannon on the bank of the river, and as soon as the tide had ebbed, he commenced a furious fire on the enemy, who were posted on the opposite bank. They were compelled to give way, and la Palice, under cover of the same fire, crossed in safety, attacked the lanz-knechts of Furstemberg,

who disputed his progress, and charged them so vigorously, that they were completely routed. He then triumphantly entered the city, which he supplied with men and provisions. The seigneur de Lude relinquished his command to Franget, and on the emperor's arrival in Spain, he learnt that Francis was master, and likely to remain so, of this important place.

This intelligence counteracted in some degree the satisfaction which Charles had experienced from the success of his arms in Italy. He resumed his plan for endeavouring to secure the assistance of the English monarch, with which he hoped to pursue his successes against Francis, and to carry the war into France. Wolsey, to whom he addressed himself for this purpose, had manifested great coolness towards his interests, since the election of the emperor's adherent to the papacy had proved the insincerity of the promises which Charles had made to the English cardinal. His triumph in Italy, however, and the insinuations which Charles threw out, that he might still have an opportunity of fulfilling the desires of Wolsey when the papal throne should again become vacant, an event which Adrian's age and infirmity rendered extremely probable, induced the cardinal of York to listen to his proposition for engaging in a treaty of alliance against France, the particulars of which were to be settled in a personal interview between the monarchs. A correspondence took place respecting it, which occupied the

The emperor negotiates with Henry VIII.

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Visits him
in Eng-
land.

Concludes
with him a
treaty
against
France.

Henry's
embassy to
Francis.

space between March and May, when, on the 26th of the latter month, Charles arrived at Dover, and was received by Henry in person. He contrived to render his offers so acceptable to Henry, and to his minister, that they confirmed the treaty which had been suggested, and Henry bound himself to enter immediately upon the war against France. - After Charles had spent about a month in England, he returned, leaving Henry occupied in the contemplation of designs which, as the emperor had assured him, must lead to the recovery of all the possessions which England had once held in France, and ultimately to the French throne; and having inspired Wolsey with new dreams of acquiring the tiara, while to encourage him in the belief of his sincerity he had promised to secure him a pension of nine thousand crowns of gold. (a)

Before, however, Charles had arrived in person he had influenced Henry to make a declaration of war against Francis. The pretences upon which the English monarch attempted to justify this step were so flimsy, as to prove beyond all question his own conviction of its injustice. He complained that Francis had not shewn sufficient deference to him as the appointed arbitrator of the quarrel between the emperor and himself, by refusing to give up Fontarabia at his request; and he insisted that the French king ought to have prevented the

(a) Hall. Lord Herbert, 114. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, c. xx.

duke d'Aubigny from going to Scotland, where Henry charged him with having excited a feeling hostile to his sister's and his own interests. A stale complaint, arising out of some quarrels between English and French merchants, made up the list of England's supposed grievances. Sir Thomas Cheyne, who was then the English ambassador to France, was charged with the ungracious task of communicating his master's remonstrances and demands to the French king.

The ambassador had an interview first with the duchess d'Angoulême, who, having learnt from him the tenour of his instructions, expressed the most earnest desire for a pacification, which she suggested might be best effected by a congress, and which Henry alone could bring about. Some days afterwards Sir Thomas Cheyne had an interview with Francis, who had been absent for several days, but who, when they met, was apprized by his mother's letters of the object of the English envoy's errand, and had been employed in preparing for the storm, which he began to think could no longer be averted. (a)

Sir Thomas Cheyne explains the object of his mission to the duchess d'Angoulême.

Francis was accompanied by Bonnivet, his

His interview with Francis.

(a) "Tyl yesterday I cold nother speke with the kyng or the admyrall, for on my comynge back fro my ladye he was gon, no man cold tell whither, the kyng, and the admyrall with him, and not past a dowsayn gentlemen, and a party of his gard. And all the residew taryed at a towne called Barr sur Albe; but of a suretie he hath been with the duke of Lorayne."—MSS. Cott. Calig. D. viii. p. 226.

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bosom companion at this time, when Sir Thomas Cheyne was introduced. The king began the conversation by telling the ambassador that the duchess, his mother, had informed him of the general purport of his errand; and for the trouble which the king of England had taken towards effecting a pacification, he, in the first place, returned him his "right hearty thanks." He then went directly to the business. First, respecting the piracies committed in the English Channel, and which Henry had made one ground of his complaint, he said, with great truth, that they had been brought on in consequence of the aggressions and evil dispositions of individuals of both countries; but, as he was no less desirous to repress such disorders than the king of England could be, he offered to refer the whole matter, as well the damage which had been done, as the means of preventing it for the future, to the arbitrement of commissioners to be appointed for that purpose. (a) With respect to the duke d'Aubigny's visit to Scotland, he protested that it had been made not only without his consent or knowledge, but in open disobedience of his express commands; and, referring to an explanation which he had previously given to

(a) Francis had ordered certain English merchants' goods in France to be seized; which injury Henry retaliated by confiscating all the effects of the French and Scotchmen then in London, and committing the better sort of their owners until they paid a fine which he had imposed, while the poorer were sentenced to ten days' imprisonment.—Lord Herbert, 113.

Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam, and to the fact of his having sequestered d'Aubigny's property in France for this contumacious disregard of his orders, he said, that by this time Henry knew whether he had not done his best to bring d'Aubigny out of Scotland, and whether that personage went thither with his knowledge or no. Sir Thomas Cheyne having intimated to him, that if the English king's attempt to reconcile the belligerent parties should fail, Henry would feel in his conscience that he ought rather to declare against Francis than against the emperor. Francis said, he trusted the king of England would declare himself no otherwise than the right required; and that, as to the question of who had begun the invasion, that had been set at rest by the evidence given before the commissioners at Calais, and was even avowed by the emperor himself, who had transmitted to him a cartel of defiance, which he had still to produce; and he concluded this part of the conversation by a complaint which was too well founded, that, in the Calais conferences, every thing that made for the emperor was well taken, but nothing on his (Francis's) side. For the proposed congress which had been suggested he expressed his readiness to incur in it, and his trust that Henry would bring it about. The insidious proposition of the truce was then discussed, and Francis said, with as much frankness as good reason, that he should decline to agree to it, unless upon such terms

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as would leave him in no worse condition when the truce should have expired, than he was at that moment. The chief points for which he stipulated were, that all Italy should be included in it, as well as the duchy of Milan, and that the emperor should at once withdraw his army altogether from that province; and even this, he said, he would not have listened to for any man living, but the king of England, considering the advantage he possessed over the emperor; for he had then two and thirty thousand foot, paid for a year to come, which would not, therefore, cost him one sou in addition, and four thousand men at arms over and above his army in Italy; while, to his certain knowledge, the emperor had no men, nor any money to pay them if he had. With respect to the pretence upon which the Milanese was attacked, he said the emperor had no more title to the duchy of Milan, than he (Francis) had to the realm of Spain; that it was not reasonable the emperor should have his own way in every thing; and he trusted that Henry esteemed him no worse man than the emperor, for he said “he estemyth himself as good as he in every condicion, and he would be gladder to do the king more pleasure for his love alone, than the emperor wold do bothe for his love and hys money;” and that he, therefore, trusted that Henry would well weigh every thing indifferently, or else let the parties engaged settle their differences single-handed. He added his perfect confidence that, if this were

done, he would make Charles "one of the pourest princes in Christedom." The tone in which Francis uttered this determination, convinced Sir Thomas Cheyne, that a pacific termination of his errand was highly improbable; but, as he seems to have been impressed with a sense of the injustice of the whole proceeding, he resolved to make an effort to prevent the rupture between his master and the French king. He therefore turned to Bonnivet, and begged him to use his influence with Francis in persuading him to accede to the proposed truce; on which the admiral, with his characteristic high and rash spirit, replied that he had rather see the king his master in his grave, than he would advise him to agree to a proposition so much against his honour as he took this of the truce to be.

Francis added, that he would not have listened to any offer of truce, but for the estimation in which he held the amity of England, for which alone he had condescended so far; and "that the especial cause movyng him thereto, was only for perfect love and affection that he bore to the king's highness, and not for feare of no man living."

The ambassador perceiving that hostilities could not be prevented, proceeded to inform Francis, that the emperor, being about to pass into Spain, had requested Henry to be the protector and defender of his Low Country possessions, which the king of England intended to agree to. Francis replied, with a sarcastic

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spirit, which exhibited at once his contempt and dislike of Charles, and his irritation at the unworthy treatment which he felt he was receiving from Henry, that he thought the emperor could not have adopted a wiser resolution, since it was clear that Henry was better able to defend his realm than he, its true king; and that, if the king of England could be persuaded to assume such an office, however advantageous it might be for Charles, it was no less a plain and manifest declaration, which monarch the sovereign of England had determined to favour. For himself he protested that he had never given Henry cause that he should take part against him with his enemy; but on the contrary, that from their past friendship he should look for his help against whatever foes he might have to encounter. “Moreover, he said that and there were no other remedy, and the king’s highness would take part against him, then he trusted to defend himself and his royalmé very sufficiently. And for his sake he sayd he wold never trust prince livyng. And an he lost hym ones he made a vow to Godde, that he would never wyne him again as long as ther was breth in his bodye. Neverthelesse he said, that his very trust was the king highness would not lose him thus;” and he added, with an appearance of feeling, which was in all probability quite sincere, that “the extremity of the war did not grieve him half so much as the losyng the friend w^om he had most esteemed, for that he had prized

the amytye of the king's highness above all other things."

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Sir Thomas Cheyne finding that Francis could not be induced to accept the disadvantageous terms which were proposed to him, concluded the conversation; (a) and the English herald, who had been sent with him for that purpose, then made a formal declaration of war. (b)

War is declared by the English herald.

Hostilities were then commenced on either side. The earl of Surrey was appointed the admiral of the Spanish and English combined fleets, and commenced his operations by attacking and destroying several towns on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany. Having conveyed the emperor to St. Andero, on his return, he quitted his maritime occupation, and assumed

The earl of Surrey attacks France in conjunction with the emperor's general.

(a) The particulars of this interview, in which Francis's sincerity and frankness are placed in a striking point of view, are taken from Sir Thomas Cheyne's dispatches, in MSS. Cotton. Calig. D. viii. The impression which the interview, and the subject to which it related, had made on the mind of the ambassador, may be conceived from the whole tenor of his letter. The paper has suffered much in the fire, but notwithstanding the mutilation, the following passage shews the notion which the writer had of the injustice of the task he was made to perform, and the impolicy of forfeiting Francis's alliance.

"Please y^t yo^r grace that in myn opynion y^t were to ——— to lose this man considering by evrye thinge I can ——— that ther is no thyng in this world that he esteemeth ——— as only the amitye betwixt the kings highness and ——— his honour always preserved."—MSS. *ibid.*

(b) Hall, 71. Lord Herbert, 129.

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the command of the English troops, with which he proceeded to harass the French frontier. At the same time the count de Buren led up to his assistance a small force which the lady regent of the Low Countries had levied in the name of the emperor.

Francis's
effectual
defence.

The danger of their joint attack was not so considerable as to occasion any great uneasiness, and Francis adopted the plan of defence, which, under similar circumstances, had always been found effectual. He strengthened and victualled the fortresses, re-inforced their garrisons, and committed the care of this seat of the war to the duke de Vendôme. The citizens of Paris, who were not without some cause for apprehension at the near neighbourhood of the enemy, raised, at their own expense, a garrison of one thousand men, which they dispatched for the defence of Dourlens; and Francis, who was much in want of money, availed himself of the threatened attack to convert a screen of silver, with which the superstition of Louis XI. had encircled the tomb of St. Martin of Tours, into current coin, which he applied in payment of his troops. (*a*)

Raises mo-
ney.

Lord Sur-
rey's cam-
paign.

The English general, who perceived that little advantage to the enterprise he had undertaken, and still less honour to himself, were likely to

(*a*) This screen was of the value of 6,776 marks. It was coined at the royal mint into testons, on one side of which St. Martin's shrine was represented. Some of them are still preserved in the cabinets of antiquaries.—Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 490.

result from a contest so protracted and so dangerous, joined his forces with those of de Buren, and laid siege to the town of Hesdin, a place neither of importance nor of strength, which was defended by du Bier, with about thirty men at arms, while the garrison consisted of, at most, seventeen hundred foot. They, however, maintained the place so gallantly, that after an attack of a fortnight, Surrey, finding the bad weather had set in, and that his army was fast thinning from the effects of sickness, determined to withdraw. He, therefore, raised the siege, and marched his wasted troops to England, plundering the country through which he passed, and burning some few defenceless towns, with a cruelty so needless, that it equally disgraced him as a man and as a soldier. (*a*)

His cruelties.

He retreats.

Francis, although he contented himself with opposing the English invasion of his realm, by measures of cautious defence, was not backward in threatening to retaliate upon his unprovoked enemy. He publicly favoured the White Rose pretender to the English throne, declared his own opinion of the justice of de la Pole's claim, and promised to supply him with an army of twelve thousand men at his own charges to assist his proposed invasion of England. (*b*) At the same time the duke d'Aubigny's presence in Scotland, where he now acted avowedly in concert with Francis, and in favour of his interests,

Francis assists de la Pole, who threatens to invade England.

and favours d'Aubigny in Scotland.

(*a*) Turner's Henry VIII., c. x.(*b*) Wingfield's Letter. MSS. Cotton. Galba, B. viii.

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was a serious evil, and was felt by Henry to be more full of care and danger to his state, than the often menaced invasion of de la Pole. The English monarch discovered he had incurred the necessity of taking some further measures to protect himself against the consequences of Francis's hostility. He proposed, in concert with the emperor, a truce, to continue for three years, in which the Pope, Sforza, and the state of Venice, should be included; and that in the mean time things should remain in their actual condition. Francis, who saw that the effect of such a truce, would be to confirm his enemies in the possession of such advantages as they had gained, and to afford them time for strengthening their several armies, and organising the attack, which he had reason to apprehend from the combined armies of England and Spain, unhesitatingly rejected it, and expressed his determination to march into Italy as soon as the approach of spring should enable him to move his army.

Proposals
for renew-
ing the
treaty be-
tween
France and
Venice.

The treaty which had subsisted between France and the Venetians was now about to expire, and Francis had sent an ambassador for the purpose of arranging its renewal, the aspect of affairs in Italy rendering it more than ever desirable that he should secure the assistance of so powerful an ally as the state had proved itself. The ministers of the emperor and the king of England exerted themselves so powerfully with the Venetian council, that they induced them to

pause upon again engaging in an alliance with Francis, and Montmorenci had been sent away without any definitive answer. Girolamo Adorno, the old enemy of France, represented the interests of the emperor, and by his talents and intrigue, had effectually baffled the inexperienced Montmorenci, but dying suddenly, and being replaced by a minister who possessed none of his information, the wavering councils of the republic seemed to incline again in favour of France. The bishop of Bayeux had succeeded to Montmorenci, and the latter again paid a visit to the state, by the command of Francis, for the purpose of communicating his plan of invading Italy, and the particulars of the army and the names of its leaders, with which he was preparing to effect that plan. The English and imperial ambassadors who saw that the delay which was taking place might be as mischievous as the most hostile determination of the senate, demanded an unequivocal reply to their proposition for including Venice in the alliance, which had been formed against France within three days. A great difference of opinion ensued in the council on the discussion of this question. Andrea Gritti, the provveditore, supporting the French cause, and Giorgio Cornaro, a senator of great influence, favouring that of the emperor. The arrival of a dispatch at this critical moment from Giovanni Baduero, the Venetian orator at the court of France, settled the dispute, and induced the state to join

traversed
by the in-
trigues of
Henry and
the emper-
ror.

Debates in
the Vene-
tian coun-
cil.

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Francis ac-
cused of
dissipation
and extra-
vagance.

the emperor's league. Baduero informed the state, that the king had made so lavish an expenditure during the carnival, which was then just ended, that his resources were wholly exhausted, and that he had no money left to begin his campaign with; that he had in fact abandoned all serious intention of undertaking it, and that although he sometimes mentioned it in jesting conversations with the companions of his excesses, he never debated it in council with his ministers; that as it was impossible for him to raise money by the sale of any part of his dominions, which by the law of France were inalienable, his only means of procuring such as was wanted must be by new taxes upon the people, which would inevitably cause a civil war in France, the elements for which were not wanting in the discontent of the people and some of the nobility. Although many of the statements in this letter were exaggerated, and some of them wholly untrue, as Francis's subsequent invasion of Italy with a large and well appointed army, sufficiently proved, it is clear that the conduct of the king and his favourites at this period had given too much reason for the popular discontent. The most extraordinary part of its contents is, that the orator states he had learnt, from good authority, that the constable de Bourbon, who had been stripped of his property by the intrigues of the duchess d'Angoulême and du Prat the chancellor, was in communication with the ene-

mies of his country, and that the king had conceived so violent a suspicion of his designs, that this circumstance alone would prevent his leaving his dominions. The event indeed proved that the orator had guessed well as to what the visible discontent of Bourbon was likely to produce, but at the date of his letter nothing had taken place which justified his assertion, beyond perhaps the moody menaces of that ill-treated nobleman. The letter of their envoy however determined the senate. They relinquished the alliance of France, avowing as their reasons for this measure, and by which they were probably actuated, the indifference which Francis had of late displayed to the interests of his kingdom, his reckless love of pleasure, and the prodigality of his expenditure, which they believed would make his alliance ineligible, because his assistance must in the time of need be uncertain. They returned the answer which the minister of the confederate powers had required, and entered into a treaty, by which they engaged to furnish six hundred men at arms, the like number of light cavalry (which they had been the first to introduce into European warfare) and six thousand foot; on condition that if the terra firma possessions of the state should be attacked, the confederates should defend them with a similar force. (a)

The Venetians refuse to renew the treaty with France, and enter into one with the confederates.

If anything could now have withdrawn the princes of Christendom from the unjust schemes which each of them was so earnestly pursuing, it

Rhodes attacked by the Turks.

(a) Varillas, t. i. p. 201. Guicciardini, l. xv. Belcar., l. xvii.

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would have been the rapid progress of a power which, always dangerous and hateful, had become doubly so by their recent successes. Solyman the Second had assumed the empire of Turkey, and had given unquestionable proofs of his disposition for war, and his talents in conducting it, by the attacks he had made on the frontiers of Hungary, and on the island of Rhodes. He had invested Belgrade with a powerful and well-appointed army, and, after a gallant defence, which was unsuccessful only because it was unassisted, he had forced it to surrender, and thus became master of a place which had been justly considered a bulwark against the Ottoman encroachments. The island of Rhodes was looked upon in the same light; and here the knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem had established themselves for the avowed purpose of checking the power of the Turks. Solyman, who applied to all that he undertook that energetic spirit which commands success, sent four hundred ships and two hundred thousand men against a fortress which, although it was strong in its position, was defended by no more than five thousand soldiers and six hundred knights. The grand master of the order, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, was one of the noblest spirits, and one of the most accomplished soldiers of his time. The manner in which he conducted the defence displayed the patience and courage of his soul in an admirable point of view. For the present he knew his force

The gallant defence of the grand master.

would effectually baffle the attack of the Turks; but he knew, also, he must ultimately fall unless he received succours. In full confidence that he should not appeal in vain to the Christian princes of Europe, he dispatched messengers to their several courts, claiming their aid in the common cause of religion, and of defence against the hateful power of the Turks. But the animosity which rankled in the hearts of Francis and Charles rendered them deaf to the call of honour: they neglected the glorious office of succouring the gallant defenders of Rhodes, to carry on their dishonest quarrels, the object of which was to dispossess each other of some part of their states. The Pope, who felt that the safety of the church, as well as its credit, was concerned in the cause of which the knights of St. John were the champions, exhorted them to lay aside their quarrels, and to unite their arms against the Turk. But his call was unheeded.

Solyman, in the mean time, pressed the attack, and the grand master, who perceived that he must encounter this formidable foe single-handed, put in practice all the resources which a great mind is capable of. His piety and enthusiastic devotion to the religion for which he fought, were manifested throughout the whole of the siege. He celebrated, with as much calmness as if all had been at peace, the offices of that religion, and rushed from the altar to the ramparts to beat back the infidels who assailed it. All that human

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skill, the most unblenching courage, and incessant exertion could do, he effected, and was in all nobly and cheerfully seconded by his knights. During five months he kept his enemies at bay; and his sallies had been so well timed, and so successfully executed, that immense numbers of the Turks had fallen under the Christian swords. For the last month he lay in the trenches, with no better accommodation than the common soldiers had, regardless of the climate, (the influence of which was felt in the citadel, and still more fatally in the ranks of the infidels); and regardless of his age, or of his rank, which might well have entitled him to a respite from the fatigues and dangers to which others were exposed. At length it was too clear that he must yield. He had neither food nor ammunition; of his brethren of the order all were dead or dying; and of the troops there was but a miserable remnant. The walls of the citadel were so battered that the whole place was little better than a heap of ruins. Solyman, whose generous mind sympathized with the sufferings of his noble enemy, granted him most honourable terms of capitulation; and the miserable remains of the noble order of St. John of Jerusalem retired, honourably to themselves, but to the disgrace of all Christendom beside, from the place they had so well defended, and the crumbling walls of which were lasting monuments of their glory. (a) They sailed to Civita Vecchia, and

The island
is taken.

The
knights re-
tire.

(a) Fontanus, de Bello Rhodio.—Gaillard, t. ii.

at first took up their quarters at Viterbo, which the Pope granted them for their residence until they should find one better suited to the purposes of their institution. Francis and Charles endeavoured to exculpate themselves from the shame of not having assisted the knights, by imputing it to each other; and, some years afterwards, Charles, who had then an object in securing their services, made them a grant of the island of Malta, where they resumed their religious and military exercises, and renewed their attacks upon the infidels, which they carried on with unabated animosity.

If any excuse can be made for Francis's supineness, when his own honour and the sympathy which he ought to have felt for the gallant defenders of Rhodes, and the interests of Christendom called him to their defence, it will be found in the anxious cares which, at about this time, pressed upon his mind, and the peril with which he was threatened by his confederating foes. The see of Rome was no longer filled by an independent potentate. The daring plans of Julius, and the subtle contrivances of Leo, might be met, either by open force or counter-schemes of policy; but Adrian, feeble and irresolute, was the mere minister of the will of the emperor, who had raised him to that dignity, and to whom he felt that he owed a sort of allegiance, in respect to the temporal power which he possessed. He was wholly ignorant of the genius of the Italian people, and was utterly unac-

The policy
of the Pope.

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quainted with such principles of policy as were adapted to their interests, and were consistent with the dignity of the church. He opposed vain prayers to the threatening and victorious arms of Solyman, while his respectful submission to the emperor, and the senseless animosity which he evinced against France, impressed all the powers of Europe with a very contemptible opinion of his capacity for governing. His weakness compelled him to resort for assistance to bolder and abler spirits. When he first arrived in Italy he had distinguished the cardinal de' Medici by his favour; but the cardinal Soderini, bishop of Volterra, the avowed enemy of de' Medici, supplanted him, first by counselling the Pope to measures of neutrality, which were congenial to his timid disposition, and afterwards by relieving him from the burthen of public business. It was by these means that Soderini gained the confidence of Adrian; and the cardinal de' Medici, who perceived it too clearly, withdrew from Rome, and took up his residence at Florence. The mortification which his disappointment occasioned kept alive his vengeance; and, having reason to believe that his rival's designs tended to favour Francis, he particularly enjoined the Spanish ministers at Rome to watch Soderini's every movement. The event justified the accuracy of his observations. The cardinal of Volterra, who believed that his darling project of the destruction of the house of Medici could not

Cardinal
Soderini
plots with
France an
attack on
Italy.

be effected but by means of the French arms, had become the devoted partisan of Francis ; and, although the name of the French king was in such bad odour with Adrian, that to have espoused his interests openly would have been to destroy them, Soderini covertly suggested to Francis an attack on Sicily, (*a*) which, if it had been promptly acted upon, would have powerfully aided the re-conquest of the Milanese, that Francis burned to achieve. The cardinal had kept up a correspondence with some of the most powerful nobles in Sicily, with whom the details of the plot were arranged. The count de Camerata had undertaken to raise the people as soon as a French flotilla should appear ; the commandant of the port of Palermo had promised to surrender his place ; and the treasurer was to provide lodging and subsistence for the troops until the whole of the island should be gained. All was ready, and Soderini had dispatched an emissary, who had been banished from Sicily, with letters to his nephew, the bishop of Saintes, desiring him to urge the king to embark his troops for this expedition, the certain consequence of which must have been to compel the emperor to withdraw his troops from the Italian frontier, and so to faci-

(*a*) He had written to his nephew, the bishop of Saintes, and bade him advise the king to send a fleet against Sicily, where many persons were well affected to him, and by means of which enterprise he would compel the emperor to withdraw some of the forces with which he occupied the Milanese.—Belcar., l. xvii.

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litate the entrance of the French army into the Milanese. The spies of the Spanish envoys, however, performed their office so well that Soderini's design was discovered. His messenger was taken before he got out of the states of the church, his papers seized and deciphered, and these proofs of his treachery laid instantly before the Pope. Adrian acted on this occasion with a decision which surprised every one. He had the cardinal seized, committed to prison, and tried on a charge of treason, in having attempted to betray a fief of the church. He was convicted, and, although he escaped with his life, a great part of his possessions were confiscated. His accomplices in the imagined treason were not so fortunate. The count de Camerata, the commandant of the ports, and the treasurer, were sentenced to be quartered.

The plot is discovered, and the cardinal imprisoned and disgraced.

The cardinal de' Medici sways the Pope's council.

The cardinal de' Medici, who, after his dis-appointment in the succession to the papal dignity, had retired to Florence, where he lived in all the luxury and pomp of sovereign power, now re-appeared. The determined rancour which Adrian expressed against France was congenial to the sentiments of de' Medici, and he soon gained that ascendancy over the Pope which a strong mind always possesses over a weak one, and exerted it to gain Adrian to the party of the emperor. For this purpose he, in the first place, effected a reconciliation between the Pope and the rebellious feudatories, the only price of which was that they should renounce their alli-

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The Pope
joins the
emperor's
party.

ance with France. He then sent for Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who repaired immediately to Rome for the purpose of assisting him in this design. Lannoy was one of the most adroit and insinuating of courtiers. He had first recommended himself to the emperor's favour by his skill in horsemanship; but he had maintained himself in it by more worthy means. He was a Fleming as well as Adrian, and had been in terms of intimacy with him during his administration in Spain. These circumstances induced the Pope to listen favourably to his representations, and to confide in their sincerity. He assured his holiness that it was owing to Francis alone that the proposition of attacking the Turks had not been adopted, and that it was the duty, as well as the interest, of the see of Rome to take part against a monarch, whose designs tended to the disturbance of all Italy. In short, he so effectually urged his persuasions, that Adrian entered into the emperor's league, engaged himself to furnish men and money for the furtherance of the designs of the confederate powers, and procured such of the princes and states of Italy as were under his influence to follow his example. (a)

(a) Belcar., l. xvii. Varillas, l. iv.

CHAP. VIII.

*Francis provides for the Defence of his Kingdom—
Raises an Army for the Attack of the Milanese—
Bourbon's Revolt—The Causes which led to it—
He is persecuted by the Duchess d' Angoulême—His
Property sequestered—Negociates with the Emperor
and the King of England for an Attack on France
—The Details of his Plot—It is discovered by
Francis—The King visits Bourbon, and endeavours
to reconcile him—Bourbon's Dissimulation—
Flies from France—Particulars of his Escape—
Proceedings against his Accomplices, and their re-
sult—Bourbon takes the Command of the Italian
Army—The Emperor attacks France from the
Spanish Frontier—The English Army, joined by
the Flemings, invades Picardy—They approach
Paris—Are checked by the Duke de Vendôme—Re-
treat—Termination of the Campaign.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE confederacy against Francis was now complete, and the designs of his enemies appeared to triumph. By the league of Rome, concluded this year, the Pope, the emperor, the king of England, the states of Italy and of Germany, in short almost all Europe, were associated against him. His hopes of regaining the Milanese seemed to be destroyed for ever, and the safety of his own dominions, which were now menaced, required all his care and exertions. It was at this time of peril, and when the storm which was gathering about him had assumed its most portentous aspect, that Francis proved that the energy of his mind was not impaired by the dissipation in which he had for a time too culpably indulged. His spirit rose with the occasion which required its strength. He recruited his armies, made judicious arrangements for the defence of his kingdom, and determined to persevere in his attempt on the Milanese, to which, as he imagined, he was called, not less by the interests of France, than by his own personal honour, which had somewhat suffered by the late defeat and expulsion of his armies. His own intentions, and the impression made on his mind by the preparations of his enemies, were explained in a speech addressed by him to a

1523.

The confederacy
against
Francis.

He prepares to
encounter
it.

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Spanish nobleman, his prisoner, on restoring him to freedom. The occasion, which called for a loud tone, may somewhat justify expressions that would otherwise be thought too ostentatious and menacing. "I know," he said, "that all Europe is banded against me, and that therefore I must make head against all Europe; but I am fully prepared. I do not fear the emperor—for he has no money. I do not fear the king of England—for my frontier of Picardy is strong enough to defy his attack. I do not fear the Flemings—for they are notoriously bad soldiers. As for Italy, that is my affair, and with that I charge myself personally. I will march to Milan; I will take it: and I will have again, in spite of my foes, every inch of the territory they have unjustly wrested from me." (a)

Raises an army, and provides for the safety of his frontier.

His prompt execution of this latter threat, proved his earnestness. He provided first for the safety of his frontiers, and then ordered his various levies to march towards Lyons, where they were to rendezvous. The White Rose, de la Pole, prepared to lead thither a large force of lanz-knechts, which he commanded, and, in addition to them, two thousand French infantry he had raised in Picardy. The admiral Bonnivet, and de Lorges, had gone onwards, and had made themselves masters of the Pas de Suze, the importance of which, to an army descending into Italy, the experience of former years had shewn. Montmorenci had also

(a) Gaillard, l. ii. c. 6.

marched twelve thousand men across the Alps, and had joined the admiral near Turin, where they were to wait the arrival of the king. All things seemed as favourable as could be wished for his hazardous attempt, when the discovery of a domestic foe changed the face of his enterprise, and brought more fatal evils upon his country, and more dismay and bitterness upon his own soul, than the utmost malice of his foreign enemies could have effected.

The constable duke of Bourbon, the first of the noblemen of France, a soldier of great talents and approved skill, one upon whom Francis relied as the leader of his armies, and whom the people looked upon as the support of the throne, against whose honour no whisper had ever been breathed, and whose loyalty to the country, and attachment to the king, had never been doubted, had been long engaged in rebellious negotiations with the enemies of both, the discovery of which was first made at the moment that Francis was setting out upon his Italian expedition. In order to explain the causes of an event which produced results so important and so disastrous, it is necessary to trace back their history.

Bourbon's
revolt.

Bourbon was the second son of Gilbert de Montpensier and Clara Gonzaga. His father was killed in the course of Charles the Eighth's war against Naples; his eldest brother is said to have died of grief for his father's death, and his youngest brother fell by his side in the early

The causes
which led
to it.

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part of the battle of Marignan. He had himself appeared at court for the first time as the count de Montpensier, on the occasion of Francis's marriage, and it was there that his personal attractions inspired the duchess d'Angoulême with that passion which afterwards proved her torment, and his ruin.

The
duchess
d'Angou-
lême
wishes to
marry him.

Montpensier found it impossible to return the affection which the duchess had conceived for him, and which she took no pains to conceal; but as he was both poor and ambitious he did not scruple to make use of her partiality for the advancement of his fortunes. In the hope of one day overcoming the indifference which he manifested, she exerted her influence with her son to raise him to command, and procured for him, by her personal solicitations, and somewhat against the king's inclinations, the dignity of constable. Francis objected, and not without reason, to the dangerous impolicy of giving in those times the supreme command of the army into any other hands than his own; but the persuasions of his mother, and her adroit insinuations that it would be an honourable mark of confidence in his own strength to fill an office which his four immediate predecessors had been afraid to trust to a prince of the blood, overcame his better judgment, and the sword of France was confided to the keeping of Montpensier, who was now more commonly called by his family name of Bourbon. Afterwards the title devolved upon him by his

She pro-
cures him
to be made
constable.

brother's death, and he formed a matrimonial connexion which most powerfully increased his wealth, and destroyed all the hopes of the duchess d'Angoulême.

The duchess de Bourbon, who, during the minority of Charles VIII. had played so conspicuous a part in the troubles of the times, under the name of La Dame de Bourbon Beaujeu, was still at the court. She enjoyed the reputation which her talents had entitled her to, and the recollection that she had preserved the royal authority at a time when it was in peril, and that she had conferred on the crown of France the solid benefit of annexing to it the duchy of Bretagne, by the marriage of her ward, Charles VIII., with the heiress of that province, still lived in the minds of the people. She had exercised little influence during the reign of Louis XII. who had no personal reason to look on her kindly, and the jealousy of the duchess d'Angoulême, who considered her as a rival, had prevented her from taking any prominent station since the accession of Francis ; but her revenge was at hand. She had one daughter, Suzanne, in whom was centred the title to the domains of that branch of the house of Bourbon, from which she sprung. The constable, who was the sole representative of his branch of the same family, was prepared to dispute with her this claim, and alleged that by virtue of the provisions of the salic law, which applied to this inheritance, the males of the same blood,

He marries
Suzanne
de Bour-
bon.

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however remote in degree, were entitled to succeed in preference to the females, however near. The duchess de Bourbon resorted to an obvious means of reconciling their various claims without litigation, and at the same time of inflicting the heaviest blow upon her insolent and powerful rival. She proposed a marriage between Bourbon and his kinswoman, to which he readily acceded, (a) and to which he obtained the cordial consent of Francis, who was probably not sorry to prevent the completion of his mother's design of uniting herself with a prince, whose influence he already regarded with some disquiet.

The discontent of the duchess d'Angoulême.

The duchess d'Angoulême consoled herself as well as she might, by raising up an enemy to Bourbon, in the person of the duke d'Alençon, who had been a suitor for the hand of the princess Suzanne, and to whom she gave in marriage her own daughter Margaret, afterwards the celebrated queen of Navarre. Alençon disappointed some of the expectations which his mother-in-law had formed of him. He had

(a) However good Bourbon's claim might have been, he had many forcible reasons for accepting a proposition which relieved him from the necessity of making them out. The patrimonial estates were heavily encumbered, as well by the dower of the duchess, which was very large, and which had been strictly secured by the cautious Louis XI., as by an immense sum which she had expended in paying off the debts and mortgages that had been accumulating for many years, and for which she had a claim to be reimbursed in the first place.—Varillas, t. i. p. 210.

never loved the princess so well as to hate, on that account, the rival who had snatched her from him ; and he was suspected of having “ the gift of cowardice ” in too strong a degree to engage in personal quarrel with a man of Bourbon’s prowess and valour. She did not however, because this agent failed, give up her determination of persecuting the object of her recent love, and now of her most bitter and rancorous detestation. By her intrigues she procured his pensions to be ill paid, and although Bourbon, who had become by his marriage rich even beyond his most prodigal desires, scorned to complain, his mother-in-law, who loved disputes, and who had moreover the right on her side, made the court ring with her remonstrances against this injustice. She had some lively contests on the subject with the duchess d’Angoulême, which only increased their mutual animosity against each other. It was at length promised that the pensions should be paid ; but the promise was not performed.

Bourbon, in the mean time, always naturally inclined to splendour and expense, indulged his disposition to an extent which approached ostentation. Contrary to his expectation (*a*) his

Bourbon’s
ostenta-
tious dis-
play of
wealth.

(*a*) Suzanne was ill made, and so infirm that there seemed at the time of her marriage little probability of her having issue. This presumption, aided by the nature of Bourbon’s claims, occasioned the contract of marriage to be drawn up without any provision for children ; and by a clause of *donation mutuelle entre vifs*, the whole of the family possessions were conveyed to Bourbon in the event of his surviving

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consort produced him a son, and it was on this occasion that he gave a superb fête, at which the king, whom Bourbon had solicited to be the sponsor for his heir, and the whole of the court were present. The splendour of this festival, which excited the king's jealousy, is described by Brantome in glowing terms. (a) "It was so sumptuous," he says, "that a king of France could not have matched it, for the tournaments, masquerades, dances, and concourse of noblemen, the adherents of Bourbon, of whom there was an extraordinary number." Five hundred of them were dressed in velvet, which at that time was an article of great cost, and each of them wore a chain of gold passed thrice about their necks, a decoration that was considered very splendid, and an indication of rank and wealth.

The duchess d'Angoulême continued most pertinaciously to direct incessant annoyances against the constable, whom it was easier for her now to hate than to forget that she had once loved. She aided the intrigues of the countess de Chateaubriant, because they tended to annoy Bourbon; and his recall from Milan was not more agreeable to her because it mortified him, than because it brought him again to the court. She

his wife. The bride, at the time this contract was executed, wanted a few weeks of attaining her fourteenth year, and it was upon this circumstance that the subsequent litigation between the duchess d'Angoulême and Bourbon was founded.—Varillas, t. i. p. 212.

(a) Hommes Illustres. Bourbon.

afterwards induced the king to commit the vanguard of the army at Valenciennes to the contemptible duke d'Alençon, and had the gratification of knowing that this affront went to the heart of her victim, who in his rage uttered some disrespectful expressions against her, which are said to have been too gross to be repeated, and which appear to have been as unjust as they were indecent. (*a*) The death of the duchess Suzanne, which took place on the 28th of April, 1521, (*b*) by reviving hopes which the duchess d'Angoulême had not been able to extinguish, occasioned a pause in her resentment. She is said now to have openly offered Bourbon her hand, and to have promised to repair all the injuries she had done him, by raising him to the first power in the state, and sharing with him the influence which she possessed over the mind of Francis. But the constable's dislike had now amounted to disgust; he repelled her offers with contempt, and left her to pur-

Death of
the duchess
de Bour-
bon.

(*a*) The duchess d'Angoulême, who had piqued herself upon the chastity she had preserved during a widowhood, which commenced in her seventeenth year, is said to have been most enraged at some allusions which Bourbon made to a miller of Cugnac, an estate which belonged to the duchess, and to whom, he said, Francis in face and figure bore a resemblance so striking that it could not be fortuitous.—Varillas, t. i. p. 215.

(*b*) This duchess left no issue; the child, whose baptism has been mentioned, and two others which she had afterwards, having died soon after their births.

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The duchessd'Angoulême claims the Bourbon estates.

sue the destructive plans to which her despair prompted her. (*a*)

With the assistance of the subtle chancellor du Prat, who had reasons of personal dislike to the constable, (*b*) she made a claim to the estates which the late duchess had brought to him, on the ground that, as that princess had died without issue of the marriage, she, as the next in blood, the daughter of her father's sister, was entitled to succeed to the inheritance. Besides the old claim which the duke had formerly set up as male heir, the terms of the marriage-contract had fully confirmed his right to this possession; but the litigious spirit of du Prat suggested that the contract was informal, owing to the minority of the late duchess at the time of its execution; and that the sanction of a sentence by a civil judge, which could alone have cured that defect, had not been procured previously to the marriage. To this it was re-

(*a*) It has been said, but upon no better authority than that of an old tradition, that Francis himself proposed his mother to Bourbon, and that in consequence of Bourbon's expressing his rejection of the proposition in terms disrespectful to the honour of the duchess, a quarrel ensued, in which Francis struck him a blow. The story is altogether fabulous; and Gaillard, who relates it, (l. ii. c. vi.) adds, "if Bourbon had been rash enough to provoke such an insult, he would also have been rash enough to revenge it on the spot."

(*b*) The constable had refused a request which he had made respecting the grant of an estate in Auvergne, near Verrières, where du Prat was born, and which he wanted to purchase.—Varillas, t. i.

plied, on the part of the duke, that the marriage had been authorized by the express consent of the king, in whom resided the supreme power in all matters civil ; and that the formality of a sentence was no more necessary to give effect to a civil contract entered into in his presence, than was a formal ecclesiastical license necessary to a marriage which had been celebrated by a bishop in person.

Proceedings were instituted in this dispute, which became so celebrated by the evils which sprung from it. The duchess and the chancellor had succeeded in gaining the king to their side. Some jealousy of Bourbon's power and talents had prepared his mind for this feeling, and the cold and distant haughtiness of the duke's manner, which, though merely a natural habit in him, was wholly uncongenial to Francis's disposition, had confirmed a dislike which was not the less profound, because it was varnished over by that cold politeness with which the etiquette of a court conceals the emotions of the heart. Francis was induced too by his law-advisers, to prefer a claim to some part of the disputed property, on the ground that it had fallen to the crown by escheat. The judges, who were venal to the last degree, were gained over by the chancellor, and his own perverse ingenuity, his intimate knowledge of all the acts of legal chicane, and the resolute industry with which he applied them to make the worse

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Bourbon's
estates are
sequestered.

appear the better cause, triumphed over the plain justice of the case.

Bourbon felt that he was opposed by a power under which he must sink ; but this, instead of inducing him to submission, animated him first to resistance, and, that failing, drove him to seek revenge for the infamous oppression to which he had been exposed. The provinces of the Bourbonnois, Auvergne, la Marche, le Forez, Beaujolois, and the principality of Dombes, with numerous other estates of great value, were the objects of the litigation ; and these the parliament of Paris ordered to be put under sequestration until the final sentence, of the nature of which this was too evident an indication, should be pronounced. His indignation knew no bounds, and the language in which he expressed himself, partook of the violence of his feelings. The angry spirit of his mother-in-law, the duchess de Bourbon Beaujeu, added to his irritation, and prepared his mind for the most desperate plans of revenge. Upon her death-bed, and soon after the parliament had pronounced the sentence, which is believed to have hastened her dissolution, she bequeathed to the constable the claim she had on the disputed estates, and recommended him to seek the assistance of the emperor in compelling his enemies to do him right. (*a*)

(*a*) This fact is stated by the bishop of Autun in his deposition in the process against the constable, and he adds

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He negotiates with the emperor and the king of England.

The watchful emperor had been no inattentive observer of the events which were passing in France, and when an envoy whom Bourbon sent to Spain arrived there, he found the emperor prepared to engage in the execution of his plans. A negotiation was immediately entered into between them, and Bourbon plunged at once into an enterprise which, whether it failed or succeeded, must have been equally injurious to his fame and his happiness. It is impossible to deny that he committed himself deliberately to an extensive scheme of rebellion against the king and the state; and although it would be difficult to offer an excuse for such a crime, it must be confessed that Bourbon was driven to extremities in themselves utterly unjust and most hard for so high a temper as his to brook. His rank, his kindred with the king, the valour and the skill which he had exerted so often and so usefully in support of the throne, entitled him to consideration. He found that all his claims were forgotten; that he was denied that which the poorest man in France had a right to—a pure and impartial administration of the laws; that he was threatened with total spoliation; and that neither the justice of his cause, nor his past services, could protect him against the united oppression of a profligate judge, a

that the duchess also recommended him to ask for the hand of Eleanora, the widowed queen of Portugal, in marriage.—Gaillard, l. ii. c. vi.

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wicked and resentful woman, and a king who was weak enough to abet their practices. (*a*)

The emperor had sent into France the lord of Beurein, a relation of Chievres, his late tutor, in the beginning of 1523, and with him Bourbon stipulated that the emperor should assist him in recovering the estates of which he had been unjustly deprived; that the bond of their union should be his marriage with the emperor's sister, the queen of Portugal, to whom he would give, as her jointure, his province of Beaujolois. But Bourbon's animosity was inflamed to such a pitch, that the mere restitution of his own property would not satisfy him. He concerted with the emperor's envoy the means of engaging the king of England in the scheme, and to this end the lord of Beurein was dispatched to England on the part of the emperor, while Bourbon sent M. de Chasteaufort on his own behalf (*b*) with offers to Henry,

Plans an
attack on
France.

(*a*) The duchess urged Bonnivet to build upon his estate, as near to Chatelherault as possible, a magnificent castle, and the favourite's compliance with this request, added to other insolences of which he had to complain, the constable afterwards confessed stung him deeply, and drove him to seek revenge and redress in rebellion.—Varillas, t. i.

(*b*) Bourbon's letter is among the Cotton MSS. It is addressed to Wolsey, and is in the following terms—"Monsieur le Legat. J'envoye le sieur de Chasteaufort, mon conseil et chambellan de par de la pour les raisons que je lui ai charg e vous dire. Je vous prie le croire pour cette fois comme moi-m eme; et par lui me mander si choses

well calculated to excite his ambition as well as avarice, and which presented to him the prospect of ascending the throne of France when its present possessor should have been displaced. The English ambassadors in Spain were authorized to treat with Bourbon, on condition of his swearing homage and fealty to Henry as king of France. Beaurein arrived soon afterwards in England, arranged the terms upon which Henry was to invade France in co-operation with Bourbon, and of an expedition which the emperor was to send from Spain. Sir John Russell went afterwards secretly, and in disguise, to Bourbon at Bourgen Bresse, where he received from him a pledge that he would fulfil the conditions of the compact, and preparations were consequently made for the advance of an English army upon Normandy, in the manner specified. (*a*)

It is difficult to say whether Bourbon was in earnest in making this offer, the practicability of which Henry himself seems to have doubted ; (*b*)

voulez que je puisse, et je les ferai de très bon cœur. Votre bon cousin, Charles.”—Vitell. B. v. f. 184.

(*a*) Turner’s Henry VIII., c. xi.

(*b*) One day Beaurein, in conversation with the king of England, was trying to convince him that Bourbon might be relied on, and for this purpose explained to him how much his interests were engaged in the enterprise, and the share he was to have if it succeeded. “And what shall I have for my share?” bluntly asked Henry. “Sire,” replied Beaurein, “you shall be king of France.” “But how shall I manage to make this same Monsieur de Bourbon obey me?” rejoined Henry ; a proof that he well understood the character of the constable.—Gaillard, l. ii. c. 6.

but it is certain that it was made. In the mean time the odiousness of such a project was concealed under the specious pretence "that the duke of Bourbon, by the mis-order, evil governance, and wild demeanour of the French king hath applied his mind for the relief of the commons, to redress these enormities;" and he is stated to have entered into those measures "for the common weal of the realm of France, and for the reformation of the enormities and abuses used by the French king, upon what ground it is thought he may, with his honour, proceed hereunto."^(a)

Throughout the whole of the harassing proceedings of the suit, there was one person whose kind and disinterested friendship consoled Bourbon, and had made him hesitate before he listened implicitly to the suggestions of his anger. This was the amiable Claude, Francis's queen. She saw with pain and disgust the mischievous intrigues of which he was the victim, and did all in her power to save to her consort and her kingdom, one of its ablest defenders. With this view she had proposed a marriage between her sister, Renée, and the duke, for which he was extremely desirous, but which was afterwards broken off, in a manner that greatly enhanced the bitterness of the disappointment.^(b) Other mortifications were fre-

(a) Turner's Henry VIII., vol. i. c. xi., and the MSS. there cited.

(b) It was said to be because the princess objected to an

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suspects
and menaces
Bour-
bon.

quently supplied him by the indefatigable duchess, and at length the king, who had some reason to suspect the constable's negotiation with the emperor, insulted him in the presence of the queen and the court in so pointed a manner that it was impossible he could endure it. The story is told in a letter to Wolsey, by Sir Thomas Boleyn, then the English ambassador at the court of the emperor, from whom he had the relation. (a) "The emperor," he says, "shewed us that the duke came to Paris, and coming to the court at the time of dinner, the queen (Claude) commanded him to sit at her board; for the king and she dined apart that day. The king, hearing of his being there, the more shortly ended his dinner, and came to the queen's chamber. The duke seeing the king, was rising to do his duty. The king commanded him to sit, and not to rise from his dinner, and then saluted him with these words: 'Seigneur, it is shewed us that you be or shall be married. Is it truth?' The duke said it was not so. The king said that he knew it was so; moreover saying, that he would remember it; and that he knew his traffic with the emperor; oftsoons repeating that he would remember it. The duke answered and said, 'Sir!

union with a nobleman who, if the procees should be ultimately decided against him, would be one of the poorest in Europe.

(a) MSS. Harl., No. 295, p. 134.

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then you menace and threaten me. I have deserved no such cause ;' and so departed. After dinner the duke went to his lodging, and all the noblemen of the court with him. The next day he departed from the court to the country. He (Boleyn) said, if the king spoke so much, it was marvail that he suffered the duke to depart. The emperor said that he durst not otherwise do, all the great personages so favoured him."

Bourbon concludes his compact with Charles and Henry.

This confirmed Bourbon in the belief that his plans were discovered, and that the necessity of preserving his life was now added to the other motives he had to make Francis feel how unworthily he had treated him. He despatched a confidential person to England, confirmed his negociations with the emperor, and set himself without delay about securing as many adherents as he could to the cause which he had undertaken. The circumstances of his plan are minutely detailed in the process which was afterwards instituted against him and his partisans.

The details of his plot.

Among those on whose assistance he most relied, was the count St. Vallier, his friend and relation, and who had besides some personal reason to be dissatisfied with the king's behaviour to him. St. Vallier deposed when he was examined before the council, that having visited the constable one day at Montbrisson, he took him into a closet, and having made some appeals to his tried friendship and regard, he produced to him a reliquary, in which there was a piece of the true cross. He told him that he was

about to confide to his keeping a secret on which his life depended, and requested him to swear that he would never reveal it. St. Vallier having complied, the constable recapitulated the various causes of complaint he had against the king and his mother, with all the acrimony which his wounded feelings suggested. St. Vallier counselled him to apply to the king, and to come to a full explanation with him; and suggested that Francis's natural sincerity and integrity would compel him to do the duke justice, if the causes of his discontent were fairly stated. Bourbon replied, that the king, on whose justice and generosity his friend so much insisted, was so entirely under the influence of his mother, that he could do nothing in opposition to her counsel. "But I have other reasons, he added. All princes are not as blind as he is." He then communicated to the count the negotiations he had entered into with the emperor, and the offers which Charles had made him. St. Vallier asked what guarantee he had for the performance of promises so magnificent. "You shall judge for yourself," replied the constable, "Beaurein is coming to sup with me this evening; you may hear what he says, and you will then see that your friend is not held everywhere in the scorn which it is his fate to encounter here." St. Vallier was present at the meeting to which the duke alluded, heard the conversation, and the renewal by Beaurein of the promises on the part of the emperor.

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On the following day St. Vallier had another secret conversation with the constable, in which he said he exerted all his powers of persuasion for the purpose of deterring him from the dangerous enterprise he was engaged in. After a night of meditation on that enterprise, and the manner in which it was to be effected, he expressed his own opinion that its issue must be fatal; that the duke would either ruin his country, or be ruined himself, and he besought him to weigh well this dreadful choice of alternatives. "If your secret transpires," he said, "you will perish by an infamous death. If your designs succeed, you carry your sword and your talents into the service of people who have been used to tremble at your very name. You go to use that sword and those talents against your country, your kindred, and your friends—against all who are dearest to you. It is true that you have cause of complaint against the woman who now hates you, only because she has loved you too well—against the king who would esteem you, if you would let him; but what cause of complaint have you against the queen, against the king's children, who are of your own blood, and whose natural protector you ought to be?—what cause of complaint against that generous nobility, who have taken you for their model, and whom you have often led to victory?—what against that people of whom you are the hero and the idol, who love you for your own sake, who burn with indignation at the wrongs

you have endured, and who detest the hands by which those wrongs have been inflicted? Whatever evils fortune may visit upon you, it is by yourself alone that your glory can be tarnished. At present nothing dims its lustre, and your injuries even add to it. Would you change this state of things for one in which your country, groaning under the domination of ruthless strangers, shall raise its cry to heaven against you, while posterity will denounce you as at once the scourge and the opprobrium of France.

Bourbon interrupted this passionate harangue by exclaiming with bitterness that it was by the machinations of his enemies that he had been driven to this extremity; that they had stripped him—reduced him to nothing; and that he had no choice but to extricate himself from the misery into which they had plunged him, however violent might be the measures to which he should resort. The conversation was continued until, as St. Vallier relates, both parties were moved to tears, and it ended by Bourbon's promising to relinquish his culpable designs. They parted, and it was not until after his flight that St. Vallier learnt how intirely his promise had been broken. Such, at least, is the account which St. Vallier gave of this matter, and in which he persisted even on the scaffold. It may be true in the main; but it obviously tells so much in favour of the person by whom it is made, that its complete impartiality must be questionable.

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The
scheme is
discovered.

It is certain that, if Bourbon made any such promise as is alleged by St. Vallier, he neither kept, nor intended to keep it. On the contrary, he sent emissaries to engage such persons as were favourable to his cause, or could be induced to join it, throughout France; and it was by the failure of one of these attempts that the whole extent of his machinations was discovered to Francis. Lurcy, the constable's confidential secretary, had been sent on this dangerous errand to Normandy. Bourbon had previously written to two gentlemen of note in that province, whose names were Matignon and d'Argouges informing them that Lurcy was on his way to make a communication to them on his part, and requesting them to meet him at an inn in Vendôme, which the letter pointed out, on a certain day. They were true to their appointment, and were met by Lurcy, who, having taken the precaution of swearing them upon the gospels that they would disclose to no one the secret he was about to impart to them, revealed the scheme of the constable's conspiracy, solicited them to engage in it, and promised them that the constable would send a certain number of persons to act for him in Normandy, but he directed his persuasions principally to induce them to facilitate the entrance of the English forces which were destined for Picardy, and even to make a journey to England connected with that object. He had, however, mistaken the persons whom he addressed. They were shocked and alarmed at

the proposition; and, having quitted the secretary, returned home to deliberate upon future measures. They would instantly have revealed all that they knew, but were restrained by the scruple of violating the oath they had taken. In this embarrassment they solicited the advice of a priest, to whom, under the seal of confession, they disclosed their portentous secret; and the priest made the best use of it by informing the seneschal of Normandy of its purport. Matignon and d'Argouges, alarmed for the consequences of this discovery to themselves, hastened in all speed to the king, who had begun his march, and who was then at St. Pierre en Moutier, on his way to Lyons. They threw themselves at his feet, and repeated to him a full confession of all they knew.

Francis saw now that what he had before only suspected was realized in its most dangerous shape. He determined to secure the constable's person; but, as he had only a slight escort with him, and as the constable was in a province where his very name was adored, he resolved to wait until the levies, under the command of Rose Blanche, which were then on their march towards Lyons, should come up. In the mean time he resolved to try if he could not yet regain his lost friend by gentle means, which, if they had been earlier resorted to, would, in all probability, have prevented the mischievous practices in which he had engaged. The king immediately turned out of his road, and went to

Francis
visits and
remon-
strates with
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Moulins, where Bourbon was, and where, that he might not be called upon to follow the king, he had feigned to be detained by illness. Francis began a conversation with him in a tone which was well enough calculated to secure the fidelity of the constable, if he had not already gone too far in his revolt to retract. "They tell me," said he, "that you are vexed with the circumstances which have recently happened, and I can conceive that you are so not without reason. I am told too that you have forgotten your allegiance to France, and that you are in treaty with the emperor. This I will not believe any more than that you can think I will see you deprived of your property. Serve me only as you have served me before—be but faithful to your king and to your own reputation, and you shall have no cause to complain, whatever may be the result of the suit which is now before the parliament." (a)

Bourbon's
dissimula-
tion.

Bourbon was not taken by surprise, even at the candour of this proceeding. (b) Avowing so much of the truth as answered his own purpose, and yet was calculated to mislead the king, he told him it was true that the comte de Beaurein had made him certain offers on the part of the emperor; that he had never intended to conceal this fact from the king, but that, surrounded as

(a) Du Bellay, l. ii. p. 265.

(b) "Which might have been all very well," says Brantome, "si M. de Bourbon eut été un fat."—Hommes Illustres, Francois I.

he was by enemies who exerted themselves too successfully to turn every thing that he said or did to his disadvantage, he had resolved to communicate it to no one but the king personally; that he knew he was coming to Moulins, and that he had waited only for that opportunity to make this disclosure. The king's suspicions were dissipated by the apparent sincerity of the constable, who expressed the most ardent desire to accompany him in his Italian campaign, and regretted vehemently the illness which then confined him to his bed, but which his medical attendants, he said, assured him would be so far abated in the course of a few days, that he should be able to travel in a litter, and to join the king at Lyons. Francis contented himself with receiving from Bourbon a promise in writing that he would fulfil all the duties of a loyal subject, and by sending a confidential emissary, Perrot de la Bretonnière, seigneur de Warty, to Moulins, for the ostensible purpose of inquiring after the state of his health, but, in truth, to watch his progress, and to bring him to Lyons as soon as he should be able to travel.

Bourbon, who knew well the character in which Warty visited him, determined to get rid of him as soon as possible. He affected to experience relapses, which prevented his putting his intention of joining the king into effect. He received Warty in his bed-room, but not until several days after his arrival. He told him, that he hoped soon to be able to join the king, took a

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short walk in his garden on that day, and expressed an intention of trying on the morrow the effect of some slight exercise in the park ; when, having by degrees accustomed himself to air and the fatigue attendant on moving about, he hoped by the Friday or Saturday following (this was on the Wednesday,) to commence his journey, which he proposed to make by short stages. With this information Warty was compelled to depart to the king, who published the news with some exultation at his levee. A week elapsed, and Francis, receiving no news of Bourbon's having commenced his journey, sent Warty to him again, with express orders not to leave him until he was on his route. Warty met him on the road, travelling in a litter, in which he reached St. Géran. " I am more impatient," said the constable, " to be with the king than he can be to see me ; but the state of my health is such as prevents my journeying more rapidly." Warty remained with him, and travelling at the rate of about two leagues a day, they reached La Palice. There the constable was said to have had a bad night, and his medical attendants brought Warty to see him in bed. " I am very ill," he said, " but I shall be better by night, when I will set out ; or if not, I will make a double stage tomorrow." The evening came, but Bourbon was not able to go on. The whole household was in alarm, and the officers and servants were up with him during the night, while the physicians and apothecaries were in-

cessantly in his bed-room. On the following day they pronounced him to be in danger, and absolutely forbade his further progress for the present. Warty had another interview with him at a late hour on this day, when the constable told him, with an affectation of confidence, that he felt himself worse than even his medical attendants imagined; and he added, with a refined dissimulation, that the bitterest thought he had in dying was, that he was no longer able to serve the king. It will be remembered that this is the account given by Warty; but it would be not less injurious to the reputation of the constable than it would be difficult to believe that he could condescend to meanness like that which was here imputed to him. Bourbon added, that his physicians had recommended to him, as a last remedy, to try the air of his own country; and then, by way of cutting off all reply from his unwelcome visitor, he turned round in his bed, and expressed a wish to go to sleep. Warty, who found that his presence was productive of no good, determined to go back to the king; and on the Sunday following he returned with a dispatch from Francis, full of remonstrances, reproaches, and promises. Warty, on his arrival at La Palice, found that the constable had left it, and had gone to his castle of Chantelle, in which, from its strength, he thought himself more secure than at Moulins. Warty followed him, and the suspicions which he had entertained were confirmed, when he learnt from

a boatman at Varenne sur P'Allier, that the constable had passed, mounted on a hackney, and apparently in perfect health. Warty dispatched intelligence of this fact to the king, and went himself to Chantelle, which place he reached within an hour after the constable, and which he found well secured, with the guns on the battlements pointed, and prepared for defence.

After some vain efforts, and much waiting, Warty procured admission to the constable. "You spur me hard, sir," said Bourbon. "Your grace's spurs must be better than mine," replied Warty, "for you have travelled hither much faster than I." The constable then told him plainly, that he had taken this step in the belief that the king had intended to have put him under arrest as soon as he should have reached Lyons. He complained bitterly of the intrigues that were carrying on for the destruction of his fortune and of his very name, and confessed that it was with a view of securing himself against those machinations that he had thrown himself into this place of defence. He then entrusted to Warty's care certain letters for the king, for the Bastard of Savoy, and for the maréchal de Chabannes, assuring him at the same time, that he did not intend to quit that place, or that at the most he did not intend to go above five or six leagues from it. "I am perfectly ready to believe you," replied Warty, "for where could your highness go? the king has taken care that you shall not quit the realm." "And I have

no inclination to do so, even if he had taken no such precaution," rejoined the constable, "Farewell, deliver my letters."

It appeared in the result that these letters had been given to Warty, merely for the purpose of getting rid of the presence of one who had always been disagreeable, and who was now more than ever in the way of the constable's plans for putting Chantelle into a posture of effectual defence. (a) At the same time he despatched the bishop of Autun to Francis, with a letter signed by himself, in which he repeated his assurances of fidelity, and begging that the king would order the restoration of his property, and extend his pardon to those who, for their adherence to his interests, had incurred his majesty's displeasure. (b) The bishop was the bearer also of

(a) In one of the depositions, it is stated, that the followers of the constable deliberated among themselves whether they ought not to hang Warty upon the battlements as a spy.

(b) The latter of these letters is preserved by du Bellay, l. ii. p. 268.

" Monseigneur, je vous ay escrit bien amplement par Perot d'Uvarty, depuis je vous ay depesché l'evesque d'Autun present porteur, pour de tant plus par luy vous faire entendre la volonté que j'ay de vous faire service : je vous supplie, Mgr., le vouloir croire de ce qu'il vous dira de par moy, et vous asseurer sur mon honneur, que je ne vous ferez jamais faute. De vostre maison de Chantelles le 7 de Septembre.

" Mais qu'il plaise au roy faire rendre les biens du feu M. de Bourbon, il promit de le bien et loyaument servir, et de bon cueur, sans luy faire faute, en tous endroits où il plaira audit seigneur, toutes et quantesfois qu'il luy plaira,

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secret instructions, in which Bourbon desired him to stipulate for an entire restitution of his estates, as the only condition on which he would engage to serve the king. Francis, who had learnt the retreat of the constable to Chantelle, saw in it the manifest proof of his intentions. "My kindness and plain dealing with him," he said bitterly, "ought to have changed his heart; but since the traitor will rush upon his ruin, let him perish." He immediately despatched the Bastard of Savoy, and the maréchal of Chabannes, with a troop of gendarmes, to arrest him. Within a short distance of Lyons, they met the bishop of Autun, whom they seized, and having examined his papers, they sent him under an escort as a prisoner to the king. Francis, without hearing him, ordered the papers of which he was the bearer, to be brought to him; and his rage was roused to its highest pitch when he found that the constable proposed to make terms with him, as if he had treated with his equal.

The constable flies from France.

Immediately after he had freed himself from the untimely presence of Warty, Bourbon, who had long determined on flying from the resentment of Francis, was convinced that the time had arrived when it was necessary to put his resolution into practice. He held a short consulta-

et de cela il l'en assurera jusques au bout de sa vie : aussi qu'il plaire audit seigneur pardonner à ceux auxquels il vent mal pour celuy affaire. Et avoit signé lesdites instructions de sa main."—Du Bellay, l. ii.

tion with his adherents, in which some of them were of opinion, that it was advisable to stay in the castle of Chantelle, which was a strong place, and there resist any forcible attempt which the king might make; but Bourbon knew that to be shut up in the middle of the kingdom, out of the reach of succours, and slenderly supplied with provisions, would be a situation too full of danger; he therefore overruled this opinion, and gave orders for an immediate departure, without however explaining the place of his destination, and followed by four or five gentlemen only, he rode before the day had closed, to Herment, a little town in Auvergne. His train, small as it was, was still sufficiently numerous to excite suspicion, and he here found it necessary to leave the greater part of it behind him. In the middle of the night he roused two of his followers in whom he placed the greatest confidence, and imparted to them his determination to gain Franche Comté, if it were possible, at the same time representing to them the necessity of an immediate departure. They were Pomperant and Montagnac Tausannes. Both were strongly attached to him, and Pomperant owed him his life; for, having killed Chissay, the king's favourite, and the most noted gallant of the court, in a duel at Amboise, the constable had first saved him by his address, and by means of an escort of his own followers, and had afterwards obtained his pardon. (a) Tausannes had been his confiden-

(a) Varillas, t. i.

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tial adviser and assistant in all the transactions that had taken place between him and the duchess dowager of Bourbon, and in the more dangerous negotiations in which he had recently been engaged abroad. A friendly contest ensued between these two gentlemen, as to which should hold the post of the greatest danger in the service of their master, and this being at length yielded to Tausannes, he was left to conceal the duke's flight, while Pomperant accompanied him in it. (a)

The particulars of his escape.

They immediately departed, having taken the precaution of shoeing their horses backwards, in order to baffle pursuit, and Bourbon having put on the garb of a servant. When they were so far onwards as was thought necessary for the purpose, Tausannes, who had lain down in the duke's bed, arose, and drest himself in his clothes, called his followers to horse before it was light, and rode out from Herment on Bourbon's hackney. When the day began to dawn, and he saw that he could not keep up the deception much longer, he halted, and addressing his companions, told them of the constable's flight, and the necessity he had been under of keeping it secret, to avoid the spies who incessantly surrounded him. He then dismissed them on the part of the constable, and, expressing a hope which he hardly felt, that they should soon meet again under happier circumstances, he bade them farewell. He rode

(a) Gaillard, l. ii. c. 6.

away alone, and thus travelled by cross roads to the castle of Puiguillon, in the Bourbonnois, where he remained hidden for a fortnight; and having cut off his hair and beard, which he had been in the habit of wearing very long, he passed in the disguise of a priest, into Franche Comté, where he joined his fugitive master.

Bourbon, in the disguise of Pomperant's servant, pursued his course towards the frontier. On the first night, he lodged in the chateau of the seigneur de Lalières, an old adherent of the house of Bourbon, and whose nephew was of his party. He then changed his route, and, on the following day, slept at Pomperant's house at Auvergne. Leaving Lyons on the left, he proceeded with his companion to Saint Bouvet le Froid, where hunger constraining them to stop, they selected an isolated and unfrequented inn, in which there appeared to be nobody but an old woman, and where they thought it was certain they should not be known. They were alarmed, however, by the arrival, late in the evening, of the post-master of Tournon, and immediately departed for Vauquelles, about two leagues further, where they stopped at an inn, the hostess of which knew Pomperant. She lent him a mare, his own horse being knocked up, and sent her son with the fugitives as a guide. At midnight they set off from Vauquelles, and before day-break reached Dauce, on the bank of the Rhone, near Vienne. Bourbon here concealed himself behind a house,

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while Pomperant went to enquire whether, as they feared, the passage of the river was stopped. He met a butcher near the bridge of Vienne, to whom he said he was an archer of the king's guard, and asked him if his comrades had not arrived at Vienne to guard the passage of the river and prevent the constable's escape. The butcher replied, that no soldiers had come to Vienne, but that he had heard there was a large troop of horse on the Dauphiny side. Pomperant returned with this news to Bourbon, and it was agreed that, although the bridge was unguarded, there might be some danger of their being recognised in passing it; and therefore they went half a league lower down the river, where there was a ferry. Just after they entered the boat, ten or a dozen foot-soldiers embarked with them, to Bourbon's consternation, which was increased when, about the middle of the passage, some of them recognised and saluted Pomperant. He saw the constable's alarm, and whispered to him to be tranquil, adding, that if any foul play was offered, he would cut the towing-rope, when the boat must drift back towards Vivarez, where they could gain the mountains, and soon be out of danger. It turned out, however, that Bourbon's fears were groundless. Having thus passed the river, they rode on for a short time in the direction of Grenoble, until they had lost sight of their late companions, when they turned through the forests towards Saint Antoine de Viennois, and took up their

quarters at Nanty, in the house of an old widow lady. During supper she began to talk about the constable's flight, the news of which had, by this time, filled the country, and asked Pomperant, whom she knew, if he was one of the madmen who had been engaged in monsieur de Bourbon's schemes. Pomperant replied he would willingly have given all that he possessed in the world to be with him, wherever he was; and this equivocal reply effectually diverted all suspicion from his supposed servant; but while they were talking, some one brought in the intelligence that the provost was within half a league of the place, with a powerful escort, making an earnest search for the fugitive. Bourbon, at this news, could not restrain his emotion; he turned pale, and would have risen from the table with the intention of seeking his safety in immediate flight. Pomperant, who had watched his motions seized him by the arm and held him down on his seat, unperceived by the rest of the company, continuing his conversation with such apparent coolness as to hide his own and his companion's confusion; but the moment the supper was over they withdrew silently, and mounting their horses, rode by cross ways to a place in the mountains, six leagues beyond, where, as they were entirely out of the reach of pursuit, and in an unfrequented district, they remained for a whole day, to give their jaded horses the repose of which they stood in great need. They then proceeded to the bridge

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of Beauvoisin, intending to reach Chambéry, and found so many soldiers on their route to Italy, that every step they made was full of peril. They got to Chambéry late at night, and had determined to go thence, through Savoy, to Savona or Genoa, from one of which places Bourbon proposed to sail for Spain; but learning that the count de St. Pol had just passed on the same road, he changed his destination, recrossed the Rhone to St. Claude, and having procured from the cardinal la Tour de May an escort of horse, he rode to Passerau. (a)

Having here rested about a week, and being recovered from the exhaustion of a journey so rapid and so harassing, he began to consider the measures necessary for carrying his plans into effect, and with this view he dispatched le Roeux to the king of England, requiring his assistance in a supply of money and artillery, with which he proposed to march on Lyons and Paris, which simultaneous attack he said he hoped to make a profitable voyage to the king. (b)

Waiting Henry's reply and the succours which he expected from the emperor, he went to Lierre en Ferrette where he found several of the gentlemen who had pledged themselves to follow his fortunes. Many of them were in great distress from having been compelled, in consequence of Bourbon's flight, to a much more sudden departure than they had intended.

(a) *Mém. de Bellay*, l. ii.

(b) MSS. Cott. Vitell. b. c. p. 199.

He was in no situation to help them; but, with that profuse generosity for which he was remarkable, he distributed among them all that he possessed.

As soon as the flight of Bourbon was ascertained, the king determined to suspend his intended march to Italy. He confiscated the whole of the constable's property, and commenced a prosecution against such of his adherents as were within his reach. The count de St. Vallier; Aimard de Prie; François Descars, seigneur de la Vauguyon; Pierre de Popillon, the chancellor of the Bourbonnois; the seigneur de St. Bonnet, Gilbert Baudemanche; Bertrand Brion; the bishops of Puy and of Autun; were arrested and brought to trial before commissioners specially delegated for that purpose. In consequence of the disclosures made by these prisoners in the course of their examinations, many other persons, as well natives as foreigners, were also arrested, and subsequently the whole matter was referred to the parliament of Paris, before which tribunal it was finally disposed of.

Proceedings against the conspirators.

The depositions of Matignon and d'Argouges, which were the foundation of the enquiry, contained at the best very vague indications of the nature of the design which the constable had formed. Although there can be no doubt that it was in consequence of the unjust treatment he had experienced through the means of the duchess d'Angoulême, that Bourbon first entered upon his most perilous enterprise, it

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appears that he did not urge that to the persons whose aid he solicited as a ground for the revolt to which he endeavoured to persuade them. Matignon, being asked whether Lurcy, the constable's agent, had represented the proposed revolt as being in consequence of his discontent at the decision respecting the Bourbon property, replied, that Lurcy assured him, on the contrary, that it had nothing whatever to do with it. It was upon much more plausible pretences, that Bourbon endeavoured to gain the co-operation of the Norman gentlemen. The indolence and dissipated habits of the king, the pernicious and degrading consequences which resulted from the female influence then paramount at the court, furnished him with more popular and more cogent reasons for persuading them to a project in which their own and the nation's interests were supposed to be concerned, than any considerations which applied only to himself individually. The very gist of the conspiracy was against the king personally, (a)

(a) Brion, who had been sent by the king to communicate to the parliament of Paris the conspiracy which had been discovered, took advantage of the occasion to inflame the fears and resentment of the Parisians by adding circumstances of ridiculous exaggeration to the facts, which the confession of the Norman gentlemen had disclosed. He told them, that the object of the plot was to deliver up Francis to the king of England, to destroy his children, (his words were, "qu'on devoit faire des pâtés de tous les enfans de France"); to shut the duchess d'Angoulême up in a place which she could not quit when she wished it; and that in short every branch of the reigning family was to be exter-

and his misgovernment was the topic on which Lurey most strenuously insisted. CHAP.
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Notwithstanding the serious nature of this conspiracy, the punishments awarded to the persons who were proved to have been engaged in it, were extremely light, and even of these, few were carried into execution in all their rigour. (a) Of the two bishops who had been arrested, one, the bishop of Puy, was set at liberty; the other, the bishop of Autun, who seems to have had as great a share in the rebellion as any of the accomplices, was kept in prison for some time, but was afterwards liberated, and ultimately restored to all his possessions. (b) Gilbert de

minated.—Discours de Brion au Parlement, Gaillard, l. ii. c. 6. The explanation of this otherwise useless falsehood is to be found in the fact that the English army was then in France, and threatened the capital.

(a) Francis either felt or feigned great discontent at the clemency of his judges. He said that the conspirators had expected nothing less than death for their offences, and he could not conceive why those who had tried them thought it right to sentence them to any milder punishment. He nominated new judges, and when they were found to be no more rigorous than their predecessors, he addressed to them an angry letter dated from Romorentin, the 18th of July, 1524, in which he said, “ Je vois que vous êtes délibéré de persister dans votre erreur, et préférer vos volontés particulières à notre honnête service, et au bien de tout le royaume : ”—and he adds, “ nous en ferons une telle démonstration, que ce sera exemple aux autres.” A threat which was probably never meant to be, and which certainly never was carried into execution.—Gaillard, l. ii. c. 6.

(b) On his liberation he joined Bourbon, who made him chancellor of Milan, on Morone's being displaced. After Bourbon's death he returned to France, and was fully par-

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Baudemanche (*a*) was acquitted and liberated after a short confinement, and St. Bonnet obtained a formal pardon. Desguières and Bertrand Simon were condemned to make an *amende honorable*, and to three years imprisonment in whatever place the king might direct. Descars was about to be put to the torture, but by his passionate supplications to the judges that he might rather at once suffer death, he is said to have obtained such a delay as enabled his friends to procure a more favourable view to be taken of his alleged offence. His wife, who was of the house of Bourbon Carenci, obtained permission to attend him in prison, during an illness which his agitation had brought on; and when he recovered, he received a sentence of banishment to Orleans for the space of two years, and was ultimately fully pardoned. (*b*)

done. The bishop of Puy owed his protection to the constant quarrels which it was proved he was engaged in with the bishop of Autun. They both formed a part of the constable's household, and entertained a boundless hatred and jealousy of each other, which frequently broke out into such indecent explosions, that the constable was personally obliged to interpose between them.—Examination of the bishop of Puy, 21 Octr. 1523.

(*a*) He admitted that he had hired troops in the name of the constable, but declared that he believed they were for the king's service.—Examination, 24 Sepr. 1523.

(*b*) Descars' imprisonment was much more unfortunate in its results to others than to himself. He endeavoured at an early period of his confinement to effect his escape, and had so far succeeded as to reach the river, which he was cross-

St. Vallier, who had taken little or no share in the rebellion, and who had expiated his fault by an ample confession, endured a much more rigorous treatment. He was found guilty of lèse-majesté, and condemned to be degraded from his rank, and after having been put to the torture, to lose his head. The latter part of the sentence was not carried into effect, although the chancellor du Prat vehemently recommended it. St. Vallier protested against the cruelty and injustice of his sentence, but prepared to undergo it courageously. The only part of it which seemed too severe a trial for his fortitude, was that relating to his degradation. The count de Ligny approached him on the scaffold for the purpose of divesting him of the order of St. Michael which he bore. St. Vallier, with the instruments of his death before him, replied with dignity, that the order had been conferred on him by an assembled chapter of the knights of St. Michael, and he urged, therefore, his right to retain it until he was deprived of it by their authority. De Ligny, however, insisted, and St. Vallier having no collar, the count lent

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St. Vallier's
sentence
and pu-
nishment.

ing when he was retaken. One of his servants who had assisted him was killed in the pursuit, and when Descars was ultimately liberated, the parliament exhorted him to have the services of the church performed for the repose of this servant's soul, and to provide for his wife and children. Another of his servants, for having been concerned in the same affair, was condemned to be whipped and banished from Paris, and the keeper of the prison was displaced and fined for his negligence.—Gaillard, t. ii. c. 6.

him his own, which he put on and took off. He then requested permission to make some bequests to his servants, with the king's good pleasure, and this was granted him. Having now finished all his preparations, he declared himself ready to undergo his fate, when a messenger arrived, with news that the king had commuted his sentence to one of perpetual imprisonment. (a)

(a) It has been said, that St. Vallier was indebted for the pardon to the intercession of his beautiful daughter, better known by the name of Diane de Poitiers, who afterwards became the mistress of Francis's son, Henry II. The whole story is extremely questionable; and that part of it which relates to Diana's having purchased her father's life by the surrender of her own maiden honour is obviously untrue; for she had, at this time, been for ten years the wife of the grand seneschal of Normandy. Considering that it was by means of that officer the conspiracy was in some degree discovered, and that the machinations of Lurcy were rendered futile by the prompt measures which he took to prevent the consequences of the projected revolt in the province of which he was the governor, it is not difficult to imagine more honourable as well as more reasonable motives for the clemency which St. Vallier experienced. The terms of the patent by which his sentence was remitted, state explicitly that it had been granted at the entreaty of the seneschal, and in consequence of his services. "Comme puis naguère notre cher et féal cousin, conseiller, et chambellan, le comte de Maulevrier-Brézé, grand sénéchal de Normandie, et les parens et amis charnels de Jean de Poitiers, sieur de S. Vallier, nous ayent en très grande humilité, supplié et requis avoir pitié et compassion dudit de Poitiers, sieur de S. Vallier; Nous ayant considération aux dits services, et principalement à celui que ledit grand sénéchal nous a fait en découvrant les machinations et conspirations, &c."

While his adherents were thus suffering the consequences of his rashness, Bourbon himself felt in his own person all the bitter consequences of his revolt. He was a wanderer in a foreign country, with scanty means, and with no other attendants or companions than the fugitives who thought themselves sufficiently happy in having escaped the fate that menaced their stay in France. The king, who knew the value of the adherent he had lost, sent Imbaut, a gentleman of his household, to offer him a pardon and the restitution of his goods, on his return to his country and his allegiance. Bourbon's reply was decisive and unceremonious in the negative. Imbaut, this part of his commission being ended, demanded, in the name of the king, the sword of France, which he bore in token of his office of constable; and the collar of St. Michael, which the king had conferred on him. "As to the sword," replied Bourbon, whose pride had not recovered the wound it had received at Valenciennes, "he took that from me at the passage of the Scheldt, when he gave the command of the vanguard to the duke d'Alençon; as for the order, I left it hanging at the head of my bed at Chantelle." (a)

Francis offers Bourbon a pardon, which he refuses.

The process against him, which had been suspended, was now renewed. He was declared guilty of *lèse-majesté*, degraded from his offices and dignities, his possessions declared to have escheated to the king, and the shield on which

(a) Brantome, *Hommes Illustres*. Bourbon.

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his arms were blazoned in the front of the hotel du Petit Bourbon, smeared over with yellow as a token of indignity. (a) These proceedings were not finally terminated until the 26th of July, 1527, when the ill-fated subject of them, although he had expiated his errors by his death, had not satisfied the malice of his enemies. His memory was assailed, and by the terms of the posthumous sentence he was declared to have notoriously degenerated from the virtue and loyalty of the ancestors of his house. (b)

Assumes
the com-
mand of the
emperor's
army in
Italy.

From Franche Comté, Bourbon went into Germany, and, returning by way of Switzerland, he reached Mantua, where the duke, his cousin, gave him an equipage befitting his rank; he then repaired to Piacenza to confer with the imperial generals the plan of the campaign, and to await the emperor's orders. Charles however entertained towards Bourbon, who had now nothing to offer him but his sword and his despair, very different feelings from those which he had expressed for him when he believed that he could raise half France against the monarch whom he looked upon as his most powerful and most dangerous rival. He suffered some time to elapse before he answered the applications that were made to him upon Bourbon's part by Lurey, and at length sent the messenger back, accompanied by Beaurein, with an offer to him, either to repair to Spain, or to assume, as lieutenant-

(a) Mezeray.

(b) Sleidan, l. vi.

general, the command of the imperial army in Italy. Bourbon perceived that the emperor was in no haste to perform the brilliant promises he had formerly made him ; not a word was said about his proposed marriage with the queen of Portugal. He determined to await a more favourable occasion for pressing his claims, and for the present he accepted the latter of the emperor's offers, and was content to carry on with the other generals the Italian campaign.

The discovery of Bourbon's design at the moment that it took place, although it did not divert the attacks which were threatened against France, rendered them ineffectual. If those attacks had been made simultaneously, and if an internal revolt, directed by the genius, and strengthened by the influence of Bourbon, had broken out at the same time, the destruction of Francis, and the dismemberment of his realm must, in all human probability, have been the consequence ; but to encounter the separate assaults of Spain, Germany, and England, the arrangements which Francis had made for the defence of his realm were found quite sufficient. The Germans penetrated the French frontier at Franche Comté, but were repulsed by the count de Guise. Lautrec, to whom the defence of the confines next Spain had been committed, made a wise disposition of his force by fortifying and victualling Fontarabia, after which he fell back, having removed every kind of provision which could facilitate the enemy's march. By the treachery of Fran-

War on the
French
frontiers.

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VIII.

The Eng-
lish and
French
armies ap-
proach
Paris.

get, the commandant of Fontarabia, that place was surrendered; but the Spanish forces were either content with the advantage which they had thus gained, or they did not think it advisable to pursue their good fortune. The English army, under the command of the duke of Suffolk, and prepared to co-operate with the forces raised in the Low Countries, remained at Calais, ready to march for Normandy as soon as intimation of the success of Bourbon's practices in that province should render it advisable. The news which arrived of the detection of Bourbon's plot, and his consequent flight, frustrated this scheme; but, as it was deemed expedient to do something, the united armies passed the Somme, and entered France, contrary to the opinion of Henry himself, who, seeing that the autumn was approaching, and that bad weather might be expected, had advised the laying siege to some fortified town nearer to the English pale, where his army would be less liable to loss, and more readily within the reach of supplies. La Tremoille endeavoured to oppose their progress, but was defeated; and the invading force marched onwards, committing all possible devastation in their route, until they were within eleven leagues of Paris. The inhabitants of that city experienced all the alarm which a position of such peril was well calculated to excite. The king ordered the duke de Vendôme to withdraw from guarding Champagne, and to march with the forces collected for the defence of that frontier

to the relief of Paris. He at the same time dispatched his favourite, Brion, to the capital, to tranquillize the terrified citizens, and to inform them of the measures he had taken for their defence. Brion had the silly vanity to inform the assembled parliament that the king had sent him for their protection, without mentioning the more substantial succours which were advancing with the duke de Vendôme. Baillet, the vice-president, replied to him with a solemn irony, which admirably rebuked his presumption. He expressed the grateful sense which the citizens entertained of the king's goodness; but reminded him, that when Paris was threatened by the duke of Burgundy, in the reign of Louis XI., that monarch was not content with sending them a single young gentleman of his court, but the most able of his leaders, and as many of his best troops as he could spare. He added, that, notwithstanding their entire confidence that Brion's prowess alone would suffice to repel the enemy, they could not help feeling an additional satisfaction from the intimation they had received that the duke de Vendôme, with a well-appointed army, was on the road to second his efforts.

The determined spirit of resistance which was thus manifested to the enemy's further progress, effectually checked them, and the Germans and Flemings of de Buren's host insisted on retreating. The English commander could not stay unsupported, and, however unwillingly, he withdrew also to Calais, which he reached in Decem-

Are checked, and retreat.

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ber, with an army considerably diminished by sickness, fatigue, and excesses. When Henry heard the result of the expedition, his anger was so highly raised, that he forbade the duke of Suffolk and his officers from entering his presence; and it required all the address of Wolsey, and a considerable space of time, to induce him to forgive them for a defeat, which they would not have encountered if his advice had been followed.

CHAP. IX.

The command of the Italian Army is given to Bonnivet—His Campaign—Blockades Milan—Bayard relieves Cremona—Colonna's defence—Bonnivet goes into winter quarters—Death of Colonna—and of Adrian VI.—Election of the Cardinal Colonna, under the title of Clement VII.—who endeavours to effect a Peace—The Camisade of Rebec—Bonnivet's retreat—The Death of Bayard—Bourbon invades France—Lays Siege to Marseilles—Raises the Siege, and retreats into Italy—Francis again invades Italy—Takes Milan and invests Pavia—The Pope proposes a Truce, which is rejected—D'Aubigny marches upon Naples—Money conveyed by a stratagem into Pavia—Bourbon, with the assistance of the partisan Freundsberg, raises an Army in Germany—Marches into Italy—The Grisons desert from the King—The Imperialists seek an engagement—which Francis rashly determines not to avoid—Mirabello is attacked—The Battle of Pavia—Francis's Army is defeated—He is made Prisoner—his demeanor after the battle—its consequences.

CHAPTER IX.

FRANCIS was prevented by the discovery of Bourbon's conspiracy, from assuming, as he had otherwise intended to do, the command of the Italian expedition. The safety of France, menaced as it was on all sides, required his presence, and his ability and talents for protecting as well as governing his kingdom, were never more admirably displayed than in the prompt and vigilant repulse which he provided for his assailants. If he had exercised equal discretion in the selection of a commander for his Italian army, the issue of his enterprise would probably have been equally successful;—at all events the disastrous result which ensued would have been avoided.

The misjudging partiality of the king, combined with the pernicious influence of the duchess d'Angoulême, induced him to confer on Bonnivet, who was then with the army as a simple volunteer, the rank of generalissimo. Nobody was more astonished at such a choice than the object of it, who, however, upon the receipt of his commission, set about the immediate discharge of the difficult task which was thrust upon him, and for which, excepting his presumption and his courage, he had no single

The command of the Italian army given to Bonnivet.

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requisite. He marched immediately on Milan, the fortress of which was defended by Prospero Colonna.

The cam-
paign in
the Mila-
nese.

The confederate army was not yet assembled ; Colonna's force was altogether inadequate to check such an army as that of France, and he was himself suffering from ill health. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances he contrived, by his judicious arrangements, to harass the passage of the enemy, and to dispute every foot of their march, although he could not prevent it. Compelled at length to retreat before them, he sent Antonio da Leyva to keep the city of Pavia, while he retired with his own forces to Lodi. (a) It has been said, that if Bonivet had now marched directly for Milan, it must have fallen before him ; but, besides that such a step would have been inconsistent with the cautious warfare which, instructed by the errors of former campaigns, he had determined to pursue, it may reasonably be doubted whether that enterprise could have succeeded. The citadel was one of great strength, the garrison, though not very numerous, was composed of veteran troops, the warlike genius of Colonna watched over its defence, and Morone, the chancellor, whose fertile brain and hatred of the French made him one of the most useful defenders of the place, furnished the supplies, animated the exertions of the citizens, and provided incessant annoyances for the enemy. By the

(a) Du Bellay, l. ii.

time that Bonnivet reached Milan the walls were repaired, and the place so well victualled that he was compelled to resort to a blockade instead of a siege, and by turning the water-courses, and stopping the passage of the neighbouring roads, to try the effect of famine in reducing a fortress which defied his arms.

The only place which had held out for Francis since Lautrec's expulsion of the French was the castle of Cremona. D'Herbouville, the commandant, with forty men, had composed the whole of the garrison, when, eighteen months before, its defence had been committed to them. The chevalier Bayard now undertook the relief of the place, and having entered it, he found eight private soldiers, the sole survivors of the garrison, who had held out during the greater part of the time against the assaults of their enemies, the pains of famine, and the horrors of mortality; and who now safely surrendered the castle into the hands of the hero who came to relieve them. (a) Bayard attempted to attack the city of Cremona, but the succours which the duke of Urbino had thrown into it, and still more perhaps the unfavourable weather, compelled him to withdraw.

The citadel of Cremona relieved by Bayard.

The blockade of Milan was continued and Bonnivet having taken Monza, Lodi, and Cremona, had effectually cut off the supplies. Famine began to make dreadful ravages in the

Bonnivet goes into winter quarters.

(a) Brantome, Hommes Illustres.

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city. The French had destroyed all the mills in the neighbourhood; but Morone provided against the inconvenience resulting from this, by constructing hand-mills, by means of which the people were supplied with flour, while he calmed their impatience by representing to them that the French suffered in the camp more than the inhabitants in the city. There was some truth in this; for the want of forage and the dampness of the encampment, occasioned by the diversion of the canals, had made it extremely inconvenient and unwholesome. Colonna was continually harassing them with skirmishes. He attempted to cut off the French army's supplies by attacking the bridge at Vigevano; and, although he failed, he compelled Bonnivet to evacuate Monza, by means of which he was enabled abundantly to supply the town and citadel of Milan. Bonnivet, tired of a warfare which was tedious and unprofitable, proposed to Colonna a truce, of which he intended to avail himself for effecting his retreat unmolested; but this being rejected, through the influence of Morone, he determined to withdraw in the face of his enemies, conveyed his artillery safely across the Ticino, and, having sent a part of his army into winter quarters in Piedmont, Provence, and Languedoc, he lodged the remainder in Biagrasso and Rosat, where a plentiful supply of provisions might be insured, and where he determined to pass the winter, refresh his troops,

and wait the reinforcement which had been promised him from France.

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Prospero Colonna, who had attained his eightieth year, and had passed the greater part of his long life in active warfare, died on the 30th of December, at Milan. His military genius, his extraordinary vigilance, and the Fabian system of defence which he had invariably employed, had proved an effectual check to the enterprises of France in Italy. (*a*)

1523.
Death of
Colonna,

During the blockade of Milan, news had been received of the death of Adrian VI., and, while the two armies were engaged in a bootless and almost bloodless contest in the Milanese, the intrigues which commonly attended the election of a Pope had been carried on in the Vatican with no less earnestness and profligacy than usual. Wolsey's hopes were once more excited. The English ambassadors at Rome were instructed, in the king's name, to spare no pains for accomplishing his object; and he requested Charles to write to the Spanish ministers in his behalf. (*b*) The fraudulent emperor complied; but at the same time secretly exerted himself to thwart the pretensions which he affected to support. Wolsey's name was mentioned in the conclave, but was instantly rejected. The real competitors were the cardinals de' Medici and Colonna; and after fifty days spent in violence and intrigues, the election of the former was secured by means of a compromise with his

and of
Adrian VI.

The elec-
tion of a
Pope.

(*a*) Brantome.

(*b*) MSS. Cotton. Vitell. C. ii.

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rival, to whom he surrendered the office of vice chancellor, and a magnificent palace which had been given him by Leo X. (a)

1524.
Clement
VII. elect-
ed.

The new Pope assumed the name of Clement VII. The first acts of his government were prudent and popular. He pardoned the cardinal Soderini, and the other persons who were engaged in the Sicilian conspiracy, and expressed a wish, in which he was probably sincere, to effect a pacification between Francis and the emperor. In the mean time, however, he secretly favoured the league for the expulsion of the French, whose invasion of Italy he considered unjust and dangerous to the repose of the country.

Bonnivet remained in his winter quarters at Biagrasso, dreaming over the successes which he imagined he would be able to effect, either by the arrival of succours from France, or by the dispersion of the confederate force for want of money to carry on the war. On both points his hopes were completely frustrated. Francis, the immediate danger which threatened his kingdom being staved off, had plunged with mad eagerness into a career of dissipation which exhausted his finances, diverted him from the contemplation of the true aspect of his affairs, and prevented him from resorting to such measures as their exigencies required. The confederate army, instead of being dispersed, was reinforced by the accession of Bourbon, who assumed the

(a) Sleidan, Comment., l. iv. Guicciardini, l. lxiv.

supreme command, and of whose presence Bonnivet soon became conscious by the increased activity of the enemy's operations.

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The admiral, having learnt that some supplies were on their way to Milan, sent the chevalier Bayard with two hundred men at arms, and a small body of infantry, to intercept them at the small village Rebec, through which they must pass. Bayard represented, that to engage in an enterprise at such a distance from head quarters, and with so small a force, would be to provoke a certain attack from the enemy. Bonnivet insisted; and Bayard, who knew that his duty required obedience, reluctantly complied. He reached Rebec, where he took up his quarters for the night. The event justified his apprehension; the marquis of Pescara attacked the place about two hours before daybreak, with a force double that of Bayard. (a) Upon the first alarm, the chevalier, who had gone to bed very ill, arose; and having given orders to his lieutenant to withdraw the foot as fast as he could to Biagrasso, he mounted his horse, and, with a detachment of the gendarmes, he made head against the enemy, and covered the retreat of the rest of his force. Bonnivet, as soon as the news reached him, hastened to his assistance; and, upon his arrival, Pescara retreated. Bayard had

The Camisade of Rebec.

(a) This attack was called the Camisade of Rebec, because Pescara, in order to enable his soldiers to distinguish each other in the dark, had made them put their shirts over their armour.—Du Bellay, l. ii.

CHAP.
IX.

saved all his men, but had been compelled to destroy his baggage; an event which, while the masterly defence he had made under circumstances so disadvantageous, added to his reputation in the esteem of all the world, was felt by him to be so great a disgrace that he told Bonnivet he would compel him to give him satisfaction for it when the king's service should leave them at leisure. (a)

While Bonnivet was vainly expecting reinforcements from France, the imperial army was further strengthened by a force of six thousand Germans, levied at the expense of the state of Venice. Bourbon now began to act on the offensive, and Bonnivet, who saw that even a defeat could not be more injurious to him than the inactive but harassing warfare which he was compelled to carry on, offered to come to a general engagement. Bourbon was not, however, to be so provoked; and Bonnivet was compelled to defend himself as well as he might. At length he received intelligence that a body of six thousand Swiss were marching to his assistance by Sessia, while a similar reinforcement was coming in the direction of Bergamo. He fell back to Novara to facilitate their junction, Bourbon immediately moved his main body between Sessia and Novara to oppose the passage of the first, while Giovanni de' Medici crossed the Ticino to intercept the latter. These movements entirely succeeded, and the French

(a) Du Bellay, l. ii. Belcar., l. xviii. Mém. de Bayard.

general found himself at once disappointed of his succours, and shut up between two divisions of the imperial army. Biagrasso, the only strong place in the power of the French, was besieged and taken by Sforza; the plague broke out in the town, and extended to the French army; the Swiss refused even to attempt the passage of the Sessia, his army was thinned by daily desertions, and the French general resolved at once to retire into France. The retreat began at daybreak. Bonnivet, with his gendarmes, placed himself in the rear to receive the attack of the enemy, who had watched all his movements. He fought there with great valour and ability until his arm was broken by a musket-ball. He sent immediately for Bayard and Vandenesse, told them he placed in their hands the fate of the army, and besought them to save it, if it were possible. Bayard replied, "he feared it was too late," but adding, "I commend my soul to God—my life is my country's," he placed himself at the head of the men at arms, while Vandenesse took the command of the artillery. Vandenesse was killed almost immediately afterwards by a shot from a harquebuss. Bayard, after keeping the enemy in check for some time, received a shot through the back, and, with a too fatal certainty, cried out, "Jesus, mon Dieu! je suis mort!" He was lifted from his horse, and bade his followers place him on the ground, with his back against a tree, and his face towards the enemy. The last ac-

Bonnivet
retreats.Bayard's
death.

CHAP.
IX.

tions of his life were consonant with the courage and simplicity he had always displayed. As no priest was at hand he confessed himself to one of his servants, and, for want of a crucifix, he made use of the cross of his sword, addressing from time to time some affectionate consolations to the few followers who remained with him. While he was thus employed, Bourbon came up, and expressed his regret at seeing so valuable a life sacrificed to the safety of Bonnavet, whom he detested, and whom in his anger he called "coward"—an epithet which could never have been justly applied to him. Bayard, whose stern virtue death could not move, replied, "Spare your pity, sir, for yourself; I have no need of it; I die as a good soldier should, in the performance of his duty, and in the face of his enemies. If there were time for pity I could bestow it from my very heart, on the man who gains an unenviable triumph over his countrymen and his country's arms—a triumph which must be as short, and must end as fatally as it is disgraceful." Bourbon turned away, cut to the heart by this rebuke, and, in a few hours afterwards, he, who had been the most perfect model of chivalrous virtue, and honour, and manliness, had ceased to exist. (*a*)

The task of paying the last honours to his remains was mournfully performed by his enemies, whom his virtue and valour had filled

(*a*) Belcar., l. xviii. Du Bellay, l. ii. Mém. de Bayard. Brantome, Hommes Illust.

with admiration and respect, and who regretted a victory they had purchased with a life so valuable. (a) CHAP.
IX.

With the exception of the irreparable loss of Bayard and Vandenesse, the retreat was effected at but little sacrifice. Bonnivet marched his troops back again into France;—but the Milanese was more completely lost than it had ever been before.

The success which attended Bourbon's first efforts against the arms of his native country, opened to him prospects which his revenge and his ambition rendered equally flattering, and in which the emperor was not less eager than himself to join. Bourbon believed that if he could effect an entrance into France, the nobility and gentry of the provinces in which his estates lay, would gladly join him; and that, with their assistance, he should be enabled to take a bitter vengeance on his persecutors, and re-establish himself in sovereign sway. The negotiations with England were renewed, and although Wolsey had a rankling distrust of the emperor, to the want of whose cordial assistance he ascribed his failure in his recent competition for the pa-

(a) The marquis Pescara, who, upon most occasions, evinced an immovable apathy, was sensibly affected at Bayard's fate. He had a tent erected over the place at which he was found, sent for surgeons, and remained by his side as long as his life endured, which was about four hours after he received his wound. He then had his body embalmed, and sent it, accompanied by a large escort, to the house of his ancestors.—Varillas, t. i.

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pany, he affected to concur in the plan of a simultaneous attack on France, and promised a supply of money for the payment of the duke's force, and some ships to convey provisions from the coast. He stipulated, however, that the duke should have made such a progress in his invasion as should give some chance of success, before the English armament should begin its operations; and in the belief, from the reluctance which Bourbon had hitherto evinced on this subject, that he would refuse, Wolsey insisted that he should take the oaths of homage and allegiance to Henry, as king of France.

Bourbon
swears
fealty to
Henry.

Some of the writers on this period of French history, misled, as it should seem, as well by their unwillingness to believe that Bourbon went thus far in his rebellion, as by the obscurity in which the fact has been involved, have unequivocally denied that he ever performed this iniquitous condition; but the evidence relating to it is too clear to be doubted. It appears, from the letters between Wolsey and Dr. Pace, then the English minister at the emperor's court, and who had orders to accompany Bourbon in his expedition, that this condition was repeatedly and urgently pressed upon Bourbon as one to be fulfilled before "one penny" of the promised supply from England should be advanced; it is proved, also, that he was very desirous to evade it, and that he suggested many reasons for postponing it; but it is no less clearly proved that the pertinacity of the Eng-

lish envoy triumphed, and that he conveyed to Wolsey the intelligence of his having taken from the duke the oath of fealty (that of homage he still withheld) in the presence of the viceroy of Naples and the seigneur de Beaurein. (a)

Of the integrity of Wolsey's intentions in this treaty there may be much question. He was in constant and cordial communication with the Pope, who had taken alarm at the emperor's encroaching designs, and fearing that, if he succeeded all Italy must be his, had refused to sanction Henry's and the emperor's joint scheme for partitioning France between them; and he was suspected to be carrying on secret negotiations with the mother of the king of France. Certain it is, that the cardinal's honesty was now much suspected in the foreign courts.

The Italian states who had adhered to the league while the French army remained in Italy, were not disposed to continue it now that their main object was accomplished. The Venetians expressed their determination of withdrawing from any further operations, and Sienna and Lucca followed their example, and joined with them in a representation to the emperor that the mediation of the Pope ought to be employed to bring about a general peace. Charles, however, was not to be deterred from his design, and Bourbon received his authority to commence an attack on France. The emperor,

Attacks
Marseilles,
Aug. 19.

(a) Turner's Henry VIII., c. xii. Vitell. B. vi. p. 102. Appendix, No. VII.

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with that jealous suspicion which always distinguished him, would not, however, permit Bourbon to execute his own plan of penetrating as far as he could into France by way of Provence, but insisted that he should commence his expedition by an attack upon Marseilles. With that feeling of lofty confidence in the success of his plans, which was one of his characteristics, Bourbon expressed himself certain of taking this important place. "Three shots," he said, "will bring the terrified burghers to our feet, with the keys of the fortress in their hands, and ropes about their necks." If he had been faithfully seconded—even if he had not been most treacherously thwarted in the execution of his design—he would have fulfilled a promise, the failure of which made it nothing but a disgraceful vaunt. The emperor had associated with him, in the command of the army destined for this expedition, the marquis de Pescara, a man of undoubted bravery and talent, but whose natural insolence of temper was increased by his considering Bourbon in the light of a rival, whose excellence he could not refuse to acknowledge, but whose eminence he envied. Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples, upon whose co-operation and prompt supply of a body of cavalry the success of Bourbon's movements mainly depended, had adopted similar views respecting him; and the united enmity of these two leaders prevented his progress, and excited a spirit of disaffection to the general throughout the army,

which was wholly subversive of his scheme. By the beginning of July he had entered Provence; but he was compelled, during sixteen days of the most valuable time of the year, to await the arrival of Lannoy's men at arms and lanz-knechts, who ought to have been there before him. At length they did come, and Bourbon pursued his march; but the failure of the promised supply of money from England, partly by accident, and partly through Wolsey's treachery, together with the time which had elapsed, had exposed his design, and enabled Marseilles to provide for his reception.

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It was the news of this attack that roused Francis from his lethargy. When he learnt that Bourbon was actually in his realm at the head of an army which, small though it was, might effect the ruin of the country, he abandoned the degrading pursuits in which he had been engaged, and applied himself earnestly to the task of repulsing his dangerous enemies. An army of observation was hastily raised, and dispatched with orders to harass the progress of the invaders, but to avoid coming to an engagement. A fleet was fitted out to defend the coast, and the inhabitants of Marseilles so powerfully aided these preparations, that Bourbon, on his arrival before it, found it defied his attack. The intractable Pescara, instead of aiding him, added to his embarrassment, and by his jealousy spread a feeling of distrust among the soldiery; the consequences of which were soon

Francis
prepares
to repel
Bourbon's
invasion.

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visible. (a) A breach had been made in the wall, but it was found that the entrance was so well protected by an inner ditch, that it was impracticable to take advantage of it. Pescara, upon learning this, hurried to Bourbon's tent, where a council of war was assembled; and, without condescending to address the general, he said, "Gentlemen, they who are in a hurry to go to heaven, cannot do better than to remain at this siege; but for my part I mean to return to Italy." Every body present joined him, and Bourbon was left mortified and alone in his tent. He was compelled to issue orders for a retreat, which he saw would otherwise have been made without his orders. The army withdrew from Marseilles leisurely, and in perfectly good condition, and made for the Italian frontier unmolested, save by la Palice, who, with a few men at arms, attacked the rear, and carried off some of the baggage; and by Montmorenci, who followed it, although ineffectually, to Toulon.

The siege
of Mar-
seilles
raised,
Sept. 29.

The emperor's flotilla, commanded by Ugo de Monçada, was still more unfortunate; for, having

(a) The artillery of the town was so good and so well served, that it did much damage to the besiegers. Pescara was hearing mass in his own tent one day, when a shot entered it and killed the officiating priest and two gentlemen who were there. Bourbon, who had heard the noise which ensued, hurried to the tent to know what had occasioned it. "Oh, nothing," replied Pescara, with a cool sarcasm: "only the timid burghers of Marseilles, who are coming with ropes about their necks and the keys in their hands."

fallen in with the galleys of Andrea Doria, then in the service of France, and the French ships commanded by the vice-admiral la Fayette, it was completely defeated; several of the vessels of which it was composed, were destroyed and taken, and Philibert de Chalon, prince of Orange, was among the prisoners.

These advantages on the side of the French king, which might have afforded him an opportunity of making an honourable and advantageous peace, had only the effect of exciting still more highly his sanguine spirit. He believed that his fortunes were once more to be in the ascendant, and his old dreams of obtaining possession of the Milanese, began again to haunt him. Bonnivet, too, persuaded him that nothing was necessary to the conquest of that district but his presence, and Francis lent a too willing ear to suggestions which his own inclinations so powerfully favoured. It was in vain represented to him by his wiser and better councillors, that the season being now so far advanced, a campaign must expose his army to needless loss and privations; (a) and that every principle of sound policy was opposed to so rash a scheme; but his wilful determination prevailed; the enterprise was resolved on, and the army began its march.

Francis
invades
Italy.

(a) Francis replied, with an unbecoming levity, "that such as were afraid of the cold, might stay in Provence."
—Varillas, t. i.

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The duchess d'Angoulême heard of her son's intention, notwithstanding the caution he had adopted in order to conceal it from her; and, with a prophetic feeling that it would tend to evil, she immediately set out for the purpose of dissuading him from his ill-advised expedition. She dispatched a courier before her, with an urgent request that Francis would stay until she joined him, and an intimation that she had secrets to communicate to him of such importance, that they could not be committed to writing. Francis, who guessed the purport of her errand, only replied by confirming her authority as regent; and, notwithstanding the news of the queen's death, (a) which reached him at the same time, he crossed the Alps in all haste, and marched his army to Milan; of which, in spite of Lannoy's opposition, he made himself master.

Takes Milan.

Milan was now no longer the opulent and flourishing city it had formerly been. The ravages of the plague had thinned its once redun-

(a) This event had taken place on the 26th of October, 1524. The mild and charitable disposition of the queen had made her universally beloved throughout France, and the treatment she had experienced from Francis had excited so general a disgust among his people, that Bourbon had not unreasonably founded some of his hopes of being able to displace the king on this circumstance. To have affected grief at her death, which his indifference and misconduct are suspected to have hastened, would have been a refinement on hypocrisy; and of this, at least, Francis was not guilty.

dant population, the unsparing exactions of its fierce foes and its not less cruel friends had reduced it to poverty and misery, and the horrors of war had left their desolating traces in its every street. Its local situation made its possession still of some advantage; but more important conquests must be achieved before Francis could hope to secure himself in Italy. The cities of Lodi and of Pavia invited his attack. In the former, a great part of the imperial army, worn out with their retreat, had sought an asylum; and the scantiness of the supplies which it contained, and the ravages which sickness had made in the garrison, rendered it highly probable that it would fall before a vigorous assault; while a blockade, if that should be resorted to, must inevitably reduce it. Bonnavet, however, advised the attack to be first made upon Pavia; and, as if fate had chosen this man to be the instrument of disgrace and ruin to France, his pernicious counsels were again adopted, and Francis, encamping the greater part of his army in the park of Mirabello, invested the city.

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Encamps
before Pa-
via.

Pavia was defended by da Leyva, who had employed himself in strengthening the works so effectually, and had been so earnestly assisted by the inhabitants, the women of the place even working in the trenches, that all attempts to take it by assault were soon found to be hopeless. After a brisk cannonade for several days, a breach was made in the outer wall, and

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the troops hurried on, believing that the place was taken. They found, upon their arrival, that there was an inner fortification which lay out of the range of their guns, and which also effectually defied their attempts. A long deep trench was between this and the outer wall; every house in the place had been turned into a fortress; and there was not a window within reach from which a fire was not kept up on the assailants. (a) Another plan was then proposed, and undertaken. It was thought, that by diverting the course of the river which skirted one part of the walls, the troops could effect an entrance. Dams were made, the water was stopped, and a canal dug to carry it off; when the rains swelled the Ticino to such a height as swept away the dams and levelled the banks of the intended canal. Francis was then convinced that he must rely upon slower methods to reduce a place thus defended.

The Pope proposes a truce, which is rejected.

The Pope, who would gladly have seen so tedious, and, for Italy, so injurious a war brought to a conclusion, sent emissaries to Lannoy and to Francis, to propose a truce of five years, during which the latter should retain possession of such part of the Milanese as lies between the Adda and the Po, with the exception of Lodi, and that Milan should remain in the hands of his holiness as an indifferent party. Lannoy unhesitatingly replied, he would consent to no truce which should leave the French one foot

(a) Du Bellay, l. ii.

of ground in the Milanese; while Francis expressed his assured conviction, that Pavia must soon fall before him, when the whole of the duchy would be his. Clement, upon receiving these answers to his offers, under the belief, perhaps, that the French interests would prevail, entered into a secret treaty with Francis; by which his holiness contracted, that neither he nor the city of Florence should furnish any succours to the emperor, upon Francis undertaking to afford the republic of Florence his protection—the meaning of which was, that the French king should help the Pontiff to destroy the independence of that state.

The levies which Lannoy had drawn from Naples to strengthen the army in the Milanese, had almost left the former without defence. This circumstance suggested to Francis the expedient of making an attack upon it which would furnish employment for a part of his large army, while his recent arrangement with the Pope was highly favourable to this scheme. D'Aubigny was, therefore, dispatched with five thousand men at arms to make his way to Naples, and Lannoy could not persuade his colleague, Pescara, nor his own Spaniards, to come to an engagement; the only measure by which the enemy's progress could have been effectually stayed. The want of money for payment of the troops, and the scarcity of provisions, increased the discontent of the imperialists, as well in camp as in the city of Pavia. The em-

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D'Aubigny
marches
upon Na-
ples.

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peror was lying sick in Spain of a fever and ague; his army was weak, as well as dissatisfied, and his generals thwarted and distrusted each other. Francis, although his troops suffered from the inclemency of the weather, and from the scantiness of supplies, was in a much more advantageous position than his enemies; and every thing seemed to promise a successful issue to his campaign.

The most pressing danger which menaced the imperialists, was the mutiny of da Leyva's garrison for their pay. He had apprized Lannoy of the position in which he was placed, and the viceroy devised a scheme for his relief, which he communicated to the commandant. No supplies could reach the city, so completely was it invested, without traversing the French camp. Two of Lannoy's troops, in the dress of countrymen, and mounted on hackneys, while each of them led another horse, over which was slung two small barrels of wine, presented themselves at the outposts. There was nothing in their appearance to excite suspicion, and the supply of wine which they brought was so acceptable, that they were gladly received. They rode along through the camp, as if looking for a convenient spot whence they might dispose of their commodities to the clamorous purchasers who thronged about them, and having at length drawn near the wall of the city, they made a show of opening their barrels. At this moment da Leyva, who had watched all their move-

Money conveyed by stratagem into Pavia.

ments, made a vigorous and sudden sally, drove away the crowd, and seized the barrels, which, instead of wine, contained a store of crowns, and sufficed to stop, for a time, the mouths of his noisy mercenaries. (*a*)

Bourbon, who was tired of the dilatory campaign in the Milanese, and who was mortified and disgusted at the treatment he experienced from the officers who shared the command with him, quitted Italy for the purpose of raising some additional troops. He addressed himself first to the duke of Savoy, who had quitted the French for the imperial interests, and who, although he would not declare openly in his favour, lent him a quantity of valuable jewels, upon which Bourbon raised a large sum of money. With this supply, and backed by his own reputation, he went into Germany, where, with the assistance of George Freundsberg, (*b*) a military

Bourbon
recruits in
Germany.

(*a*) This was only a temporary relief to the hungry lanzknechts. Da Leyva was obliged, to prevent their breaking into open mutiny, to seize the sacred utensils, and other objects composed of the precious metals which he found in the churches, and which he coined for payment of their arrears. He at the same time made a solemn vow, that if he succeeded in preserving the city, he would replace them by more valuable ones. When he was reminded in after-times of this vow, he replied, that he had made it in the name and for the service of the emperor; to whom, he therefore, left the task of performing it.—Brantome. Capit. Etr.

(*b*) Freundsberg enjoyed, at this time, a reputation similar to that which Sickinghen had gained a few years before. He was a man of gigantic stature, and brutal manners; but

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adventurer of great renown, and a zealous partizan of the reformed religion, he succeeded in raising a body of twelve thousand well-disciplined and experienced lanz-knechts. He marched them into Italy; and joining the imperial forces, found himself so powerful and independent, that he could now undertake, without fear of check from his colleagues, such enterprises as he thought most advisable.

State of the
French
army.

While the imperial army was thus reinforced, the strength of Francis was daily diminishing. The rigour of the weather had been so severely felt, that many of the leaders had returned for the recovery of their health into France. The regiments were thinned by desertion, the discipline relaxed, and, what was worse than all, the dishonest rapacity of some of the officers had induced them to represent that their companies were complete, in order to obtain the full pay; when many of them had, in fact, not half their numbers. The impunity with which these frauds were practised, gave them a fatal encouragement; and Bourbon, who knew the state of his enemy's force much better than Francis himself, was prepared to take advantage of it. He had

he was an able soldier and accomplished in all the arts of war, as it was then practised. He professed irreconcilable hatred against the church of Rome, was always ready to engage in any project which might be injurious to it, and carried a silken cord in his pocket, for the purpose, as he said, of strangling the Pope, if ever an opportunity presented itself, in a manner consistent with the Pontiff's dignity.—*Bran-tome. Varillas, t. i.*

already given his voice for an attack, and although it had not yet been decided upon, the imperial forces had advanced somewhat nearer to Pavia. They gained also some trifling successes, which raised the spirits of the soldiery.

The most serious disadvantage which Francis sustained was, however, in the defection of six thousand Grisons. Gian Giacomo Medequin, an adventurer of most daring spirit, who had raised himself from poverty and obscurity by some hazardous but fortunate enterprises, had undertaken to compel these Switzers to return to their own country. He planned a secret attack upon the governor of the castle of Chiavenna, an important stronghold of theirs, near the lake of Como, and succeeded in carrying him off. He soon afterwards went with his troop to the fortress, and requested to see the lady of the commandant. She appeared upon the ramparts; when Medequin shewed her her husband, bound hand and foot; and, holding his own sword to the governor's throat, threatened to stab him before her face if she did not yield the place. She preferred the more natural and womanly to the heroic course, and, to save her husband's life, opened the gates of the fortress to Medequin. The news of this spread round the whole of the province. In a general assembly it was determined to recall such of their troops as were in the French service, and orders were dispatched to the camp for their instant return. Francis exerted entreaties and promises

Desertion
of the
Swiss.

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equally in vain ; the inflexible Grisons quitted him on the instant, and marched to defend their own country.

1525.
The imperialists
seek an
engage-
ment ;

Da Leyva, encouraged by this event, and by the belief that the imperial generals were now able and willing to assist him, quitted the defensive system he had hitherto pursued, and began to annoy the French camp by frequent sallies. The imperial army approached nearer ; Francis concentrated his troops ; and it soon became apparent that Pavia could not be taken without coming to a general engagement. A council was held to deliberate upon the course which should be pursued. The more experienced of Francis's generals ; the men who had grown grey in harness, and whose blood had been shed in all the battles that had lately been fought, advised him, with one voice, to break up his camp ; to decline a battle which he could not fight but upon very disadvantageous terms ; and to retire to Binasco. A victory would hardly be worth gaining, while a defeat, if that should happen, would be to the last degree ruinous. They therefore counselled him to withdraw, to give his army the repose which they so much wanted, to await the arrival of reinforcements, and to disappoint the plans which his enemies had laid to force him to an engagement. Wise as this counsel was, Francis could not bring himself to adopt it. He had pledged himself verbally, and in his dispatches, to take Pavia, or perish before it ; and the absurd vanity of per-

which
Francis
determines
to come to.

forming such a vaunt to the letter, induced him to listen to the rash suggestions of Bonnivet, Brion, and Montmorenci, who, with a presumption which never stays to calculate dangers, urged him to place every thing on a battle. This fatal course was determined upon, and Francis resolved to come to an engagement as soon as the movements of his enemies should enable him to do so.

The imperialists, although their numbers had increased, were in a situation of great difficulty, from which none but desperate measures could extricate them. The season was rigorous and unwholesome. They were ill supplied with all the necessaries of war, and the discontent of a great part of the troops, who had now been a long time without pay, broke out in alarming murmurs. It became apparent that one of two things must be effected without delay; that either the generals must disband their forces and retire from the place, or set all their hopes upon the single chance of a battle. The first was ruinous; the second hazardous in the extreme; yet it was this latter measure that the impetuous Pescara counselled, while Bourbon, who wished for it most earnestly, seconded him with all his influence. The viceroy, Lannoy, maintained the expediency of retreating, until he was overcome by the vehemence of his colleagues. An attack, then, was determined upon; but in the way of effecting it there lay many serious difficulties.

The position taken up by Francis was ex-

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The
French en-
campment.

tremely favourable for that plan of defensive operation on which he had determined. He had placed his camp in the park of Mirabello, which extended to the very walls of Pavia, and which resembled, in some respects, that unsailable post of which the Swiss had made so good a use at Bicocca, while it possessed, in addition, some very important advantages. The park was surrounded by solid stone and brick walls, much too high to be scaled, and too solid to be thrown down by any sudden attack. These walls extended from the emperor's camp to the city of Pavia; a line of posts was kept up within them, and not the slightest movement could be made by the imperialists without its being perceived by the French force. The palace of Mirabello stood in the centre of the park. It was strong in itself, and had been made, by the cares of Francis, a perfect fortress, and here he had taken up his quarters. The rear guard, under the duke d'Alençon, was encamped in the park, and the van, which la Palice commanded, occupied the suburbs of the city. By forcing the park, and penetrating through the main and the rear guards, or both, the imperialists might effect a passage; but this seemed so nearly impossible in its execution, that Francis could not believe his enemies would dream of attempting it. By passing the Ticino they might also have reached the city; but this was so directly under the command of the French artillery that it was not to be thought of.

Bourbon and Pescara, when their determination was once taken, were indefatigable in their exertions to bring the king to an engagement without the entrenchments of the park. Pescara kept his men constantly engaged in skirmishing by night as well as by day. He had, with great labour, got a mound raised high enough for a single cannon, which he planted upon it, to reach the French lines; and with this gun, and with one other from the walls of Pavia, great mischief was done to the king's troops before they succeeded in silencing them.

Da Leyva had made a successful attack upon the troops who guarded Borgorotto and San Lanfranco, in which he succeeded in carrying off three guns, and a quantity of ammunition. Giovanni de' Medici, who had the command of that post, was exceedingly annoyed at this disgrace, and, by an affectation of carelessness, he provoked da Leyva to renew his attack, when having planted an ambush, he opened it so opportunely, that he completely defeated the garrison troops, destroyed many of them, and drove the others back in confusion to Pavia. Upon his return to the camp, he met the admiral, Brion, who asked him the particulars of his success. De' Medici returned with him to shew him the spot in which he had planted his ambush; and while he was thus employed he was shot in the heel by one of the Spanish soldiers, who had hid himself after the fight in a house near the place. The wound was so painful, and assumed

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so serious an appearance, that de' Medici was obliged to leave the camp, and was carried to Piacenza, through the imperial army, by permission of Pescara. (a)

The Pope endeavours to dissuade Francis from an engagement.

During the whole of this period the Pope kept up the appearance of wishing to bring about a pacification between Francis and the imperial generals. For this purpose he had two cardinal legates, one in the imperial camp, and the other in that of the French king, who in fact served him as spies, and furnished him with constant and certain intelligence of the state of both armies. Clement communicated the information which these emissaries gave him to Francis and conjured him, by their common interests, not to be induced to give the enemy battle. He assured him that he had seen letters from several of the generals in the imperial army, who stated that it was with difficulty they held their troops together, and that, if the result of an engagement should not soon furnish them with money for the payment of the troops, it would be impossible to prevent the mercenaries from disbanding. Francis did not doubt the truth of this intelligence, but he had resolved to fight, and his evil destiny and the proceedings of the enemy soon gave him the opportunity for which he panted.

The imperialists attack the French by night.

Pescara planned an assault, which the governor of Pavia was to second by a simultaneous movement on the van guard under la Palice. He divided the chief force of his army into four bo-

(a) Guicciardini, l. xv.

dies. Lannoy commanded the heavy horse ; Pescara himself led a small but well-selected battalion of light horse, accompanied by a body of cross-bowmen ; and the duke of Bourbon brought up the main body of lanz-knechts and other infantry. Before these troops, or any of them, could act, it was necessary that an entrance should be effected, and this task was entrusted to a large body of pioneers, whose operations were to be carried on in the night-time. In order to conceal the noise which they must necessarily make, a camisade, like that in which Bayard had nearly been taken at Rebec, was arranged ; and all the preparations being completed, the night of the 23d of February was fixed for putting it in practice. Bourbon had picked out three thousand soldiers from his own troops, and from the lanz-knechts, whom he ordered to put their shirts on the outside of their armour. They attacked the park of Mirabello, while two feigned assaults were at the same time made from other quarters ; and while the attention of the French force was thus engaged, the pioneers were busily working at the walls unheard, amidst the din of the conflict which ensued. This scheme had precisely the effect it was intended to produce. The French, busied in defending themselves at all points, against an enemy whose number they did not know, and whose strength in the darkness and uncertainty which prevailed, they believed to be much more formidable than it really was, were thus prevented

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from accurately observing them ; and when the light of day appeared, they discovered that during these mock encounters the pioneers had employed themselves so vigorously and effectually in sapping the wall, that a great part of it was at once thrown down, and an easy entrance was furnished to the Spanish troops, who poured into the park.

The battle
of Pavia.

The French spies had informed Francis that an attack was meditated, but the secret was so well kept by the imperial leaders, that they were unable to acquaint them with the spot against which it was to be directed. Francis however was on the alert ; he had sent away all the train which commonly followed the camp, in order that the space between him and his enemies might be free for action. Upon the first alarm of the attack, believing that the operations of the enemy would be directed against the castle of Mirabello, he drew out the whole of his force into the park, for the purpose of repelling the attack, but rapidly as this movement was effected, it was too late. The imperialists did not offer to attack the king, but ran rapidly along the left of his army, with the double view of getting possession of the castle, and of entering Pavia.

D'Avalos, the young marquis du Guast, who had just begun that career which he afterwards rendered so brilliant, was foremost in this exploit. He reached and took the castle by assault, and had detached a part of his troop to the gate of

Pavia, which they would infallibly have entered, but for the resolute resistance made by Brion, who met and drove them back with great loss.

The other detachments were hurrying onwards with a similar design, when they were assailed and thrown into disorder by a well-directed cannonade from the French guns. Galiot de Genouillac, who had the command of the artillery, had first placed it in such a manner as to command the opening through which the imperial troops were rushing in. By a rapid and dexterous movement he changed the point of his guns so as to command the ranks in their progress, and opened upon them a most destructive fire. (a) They found it impossible to withstand this; and Bourbon, who saw that every thing depended upon their being extricated from their position, ordered them to divide into smaller bodies, and to change their course so as to get beyond the reach of the dreadful guns. At this moment, when an ordinary portion of coolness and presence of mind must have ensured the victory, the inconsiderate rashness of the king frightened away the fortune that was almost within his grasp; and, by a deplorable mistake, turned the fate of the day. Instead of attacking the remnant of du Guast's troop and finishing their defeat, while he left to Genouillac the defence of the breach, he marched his division directly

(a) Freundsberg's account of the battle is in MSS. Cotton. Vitell. B. vii., from which many of the circumstances have been collected.

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before the guns, and from a vain desire, as it was believed, of enjoying all the honour of repulsing the assault, completely masked the fire. The imperialists no sooner saw that the cannon were silenced than they rallied, and again prepared for an attack. Bourbon, at the head of his German troops, who had closed in a body, and Pescara, with the Spaniards, marched impetuously against the king's force. Lannoy, with the Italian division, followed their example on the other side, while du Guast, having had time to form his thinned ranks into order again, attacked him in the rear, and was ably seconded by Antonio da Leyva, who made a vigorous and opportune sally from Pavia with his cavalry.

La Palice saw, with consternation, the mistake which had been committed, and the prompt advantage which the enemy were about to take of it. In order, if it were yet possible, to retrieve the consequences of the king's ill-advised movement, he marched the van, which he commanded, towards the battle, and thus formed one wing, while the duke d'Alençon more tardily followed his example on the other side, and presented a new force to the encounter of the enemy. Between Chabannes and the king's division were the black bands, the duke of Gueldres' troops, who had so bravely distinguished themselves at Marignan, and who, by their exploits there, had incurred the everlasting enmity of the Swiss. Their numbers were reduced, by the wars they had been engaged in,

to five thousand men, and they were led by the persecuted White Rose, de la Pole. On the left of the king's body, and between the wing formed by the duke d'Alençon, was a corps of eight thousand Swiss, commanded by colonel Diespach. The battle, at the head of which Francis had placed himself, was composed almost entirely of gendarmes, by whom, and by the cavalry of either wing, the two bodies of foot were supported.

This arrangement of the forces presented a long line, which the imperialists equalled in extent by dividing their forces into many small bodies, capable of being easily moved, and well adapted to co-operate with each other as occasion might require. The imperialists first directed their attack against the battle and the right wing. The black bands were the particular object of the animosity of the Germans, who looked upon them as rebels, and a reciprocal hatred animated their exertions. They had been put under ban of the empire for continuing in the service of France, and their conviction that they had no quarter to expect from their foes, together with the exhortations of the gallant White Rose, who led them, added the energy of despair to their natural bravery. They fought with a reckless disregard of life; but the number of their enemies was too great to be resisted. Bourbon directed Freundsberg and Sith, who commanded under him, to lengthen their front, and advance the extreme

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ends of each so as to take the black bands, as it were, in a vice. They were thus attacked on all sides, and after a gallant defence, in which their leader was badly wounded, (a) they were miserably cut to pieces, but fell without yielding an inch, or quitting the position they had taken up. (b)

The lanz-knechts, whom this success had flushed and excited, then turned their attack upon the right wing, which had suffered greatly from a charge made upon it by the Neapolitan division under Castaldo, the next in command

(a) Pole, or the White Rose, the Pretender against Henry, who was called king of the Scots, did not fall in the battle, but afterwards. Sandoval mentions that, when the army was broken up, he put on the green coat of a servant, and throwing away his helmet, endeavoured to escape. He met, on his way, a company of peasants, and desired one to shew him the road to Vigera, giving him a gold chain, and promising him two hundred ducats when he arrived there. This liberality tempted the man to be a villain. As they came to a bog, the peasant treacherously bade him ride across it. He rode boldly into it as desired, and suddenly his horse sank to his belly in a quagmire. The wretch waited for this incident, and as Pole was struggling in the marshy ground, clove his head with a hatchet. But the justice of the commiserating enemy punished the perfidious crime. The clown boasting of the feat, it became known, and he was hanged for the treachery.—Turner's Henry VIII., vol. i.

(b) It is said, that when Francis visited the field of battle after the fight was over, he observed the spot in which his black bands had fallen, and where they lay almost in ranks; and that he said to some of those who accompanied him, "If all my subjects had done their duty as well as these brave men, the Spaniards would have been my prisoners instead of my being theirs. Du Bellay, l. ii. p. 395.

to Pescara. Twice had la Palice driven them back, but they returned to the attack ; and when they were joined by the lanz-knechts the veteran saw the odds were too great for him to resist. His lieutenant, Clermont d'Amboise, was killed within his sight ; and while the gallant old *maréchal* was making a vain effort to rally his disheartened troops, his horse was shot under him. He disengaged himself with wonderful agility from his falling steed, and was hastening to join the infantry, when Castaldo took him prisoner. The captor, who respected his valour and his years, was extremely desirous of placing him in security, and was conducting him from the field, when he was encountered by a Spanish captain, named Buzarto. The latter, judging from the splendid armour and majestic appearance of la Palice, that he was a person of some consequence, insisted on sharing the advantages which the prize might produce. Castaldo resisted his claim, an altercation ensued between them, to which Buzarto put an end by discharging his *harquebuss* at la Palice, exclaiming, " If he is not my prisoner, he shall never be yours." Thus fell the hero of a thousand battles by the ignoble hands of a ruffian, whose desire of gain and thirst of blood extinguished in him all sense of honour and manliness. (*a*)

(*a*) There had not been a battle of any note in this or the two preceding reigns at which la Palice had not been present. In 1495, he was at Fornova ; in 1503, at Ruvo and at

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In the meantime, the fight was continued in the main battle, where Francis commanded in person, with the utmost resolution on either side. The king was distinguished by his large figure, and the striking splendour of his dress, from the warriors who surrounded him. He wore over his armour a surcoat of cloth of silver, and had a flowing plume in his casque; but his deeds in arms served to point him out still more clearly to the enemy, and made the spot in which he fought the most perilous part of the field.

Francis's
courage in
the battle.

Francis's personal prowess and unconquerable resolution on this day set an example to his soldiers, which, if it had been properly followed, must have given a totally different result to the fight from that which befell. He killed, with his own hand, Fernando Castriot, marquis of St. Angelo, the last of the royal race of Albania, and grandson of the celebrated Scanderbeg, and wounded a gentleman of Franche Comté, named Andelot, by laying open his cheek with a blow of his sword. Many less remarkable persons fell under him; and wherever the fight was the thickest, there was the king seen playing his part in the desperate scene with a valour and hardihood which could not be exceeded.

Cerignolle; in 1509, at Agnadello; in 1512, at Ravenna, where his valour had been so eminently distinguished, that he was unanimously elected the commander-in-chief after the death of Gaston de Foix; in 1513, at the Fight of the Spurs; at Marignan, Bicocca, and last at Pavia, besides a multitude of other engagements and sieges which were as full of glory and peril as general battles.

The men at arms whom the king led had charged so furiously the troops of St. Angelo, and were so well seconded by the Swiss, that the Italians were broken and in utter disorder. Before, however, the French king could avail himself of this advantage, Pescara moved up his steady files of Spanish foot, which presented a front impenetrable by the cavalry. At the same moment he put in practice a manœuvre which he had devised, and which, being then seen for the first time, was so fatally successful as mainly to decide the fortune of the day. He had raised a body of fifteen hundred Basque cross-bow men, picked out for their agility and skill in their peculiar weapon, and had drilled them carefully until they had acquired the requisite facility in performing the novel service to which he had destined them. At his signal the close ranks of his pikes opened, and the Basques, issuing in small detachments, approached within range of the French gendarmes, levelled and discharged, and retired with the velocity of birds behind the friendly pikes, which effectually protected them against the pursuit of the horse. The execution they did was immense, and the confusion which the suddenness of the movement created was even more fatal. The king ordered the ranks of the cavalry to open, to offer a less certain aim to the destructive bowmen ; but this only aggravated the evil ; for although the Basques were dismounted, yet having nothing to carry but their bows and bolts,

and being remarkably swift of foot, they ran between the French ranks, picked out their men, (a) discharged at leisure, and were able effectually to avoid the pursuit or the blows of the heavily-accoutred men at arms, who could not turn but slowly, and with difficulty. By this mischievous attack many of the most distinguished officers fell, (b) for their crests and penons easily pointed them out to the aim of the Basques, and in less than an hour, the invincible chivalry of France was disordered and cut to pieces by the attack of an apparently insignificant enemy, who could hardly be seen, and whose safety consisted in the celerity of their movements.

It was in this time of peril, when nothing could have saved the king and his cavalry from total destruction, but the prompt succour of a body of infantry to keep off the bowmen, that the duke d'Alençon, who commanded the left

(a) The brave and able la Tremoille received two bolts at the same time ; one of which passed through his head, and the other pierced his heart.

(b) Among them was the grand esquire of France, the count de St. Severin, whose horse also was shot, fell covered with wounds. The duty of this officer was to guard the king's person in the fight, and so well had he performed that duty, that his body was literally covered with wounds. When Guillaume du Bellay, who saw him fall, ran to his assistance, the dying warrior said to him, " You can do nothing for me ; look to the king, and leave me to die." That Louis d'Ars, who had so distinguished himself in the retreat from Venousse, was cut from his horse and trampled upon—a fate which befell several others.—Brantome.

wing, and who had as yet taken no part in the engagement, instead of advancing towards the battle, ordered his troops to retreat. (a) The large body of Swiss who were between his cavalry and the king's, and who reckoned on being supported by him, seeing this, were struck with terror. They had seen the black bands defeated, and believed that the German foot, between whom and themselves existed the most bitter hatred, were advancing to them with a like intent, while the duke d'Alençon's inexplicable retreat must expose them to a similar fate. Under this impression they fell back in confusion. Fleuranges, who was half-distracted at so ruinous a movement, galloped up to the front of their ranks, implored them to think of what must be the consequences of their desertion, employed entreaties, remonstrances,

(a) Clement Marot, the most original and natural poet that France had then produced, had followed the army to Italy, in the retinue of the duke d'Alençon. He fought under him in the battle, but did not follow the disgraceful example of his leader. He was wounded, and made prisoner among those who fought around the king's person, and afterwards accompanied Francis to Spain. He has commemorated these facts in his own verses :

“ Là, fut percé tout outre rudement
 Le bras de cil, qui t'ayme loyaument :
 Non pas la bras, dont il ha de coustume
 De manier ou la lance, ou la plume,
 Amour encor le te garde et réserve ;
 Finalement, avec le roi mon maistre,
 De là les monts prisonnier se vit estre,
 Mon triste corps.”

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and promises to induce them to remain firm, and offered, by way of restoring their confidence, that his own troop of gendarmes should dismount, and charge on foot in their first rank; but all was in vain; nothing could restrain them; they fled disgracefully. (a)

The
French
army is
defeated.

Fleuranges did all that was left to him; he rode to the battle, and joined his troop to those who still fought around Francis, and thither also repaired the remnant of the right wing. The conflict here became dreadful: the French gentlemen fought with irresistible energy. They closed about the king, and made several charges so fiercely as to break the lanz-knechts, and effectually stopped the bowmen, by trampling them under their horses' feet. Pescara was wounded in the face, thrown from his horse, and narrowly escaped the fate which the greater part of his Basques experienced. Lannoy, who had little experience, and still less of that presence of mind, which is the first requisite in a leader, came up to his assistance, but was beaten back. If the French cavalry had now been in any degree succoured, the day might still have been

(a) Diespach, who commanded, finding that it was impossible to stop the flight of his troops, was so overcome with shame and despair, that he rushed alone upon the lanz-knechts, casting away the life which the misconduct of his men had rendered intolerable. La Roche du Main, the duke d'Alençon's lieutenant, when he found he could not change his dastardly leader's determination, left his troop and rode to the battle, where he joined those who were fighting around the king.

Francis's ; but they fought against odds, which were every moment increasing. All the imperial leaders who had been engaged in different parts of the field, hastened up to the single spot in which the fight was continued. Still the gendarmes remained firm. Du Guast, Castaldo, da Leyva, with their several divisions, assailed them, but the French cavalry kept them at bay until Bourbon brought up his irresistible bands. A general charge was now made with such impetuosity, that the small and exhausted troop around the king were broken in many places, and it became impossible for them to close again.

In this dreadful spot, where war had assumed its most furious aspect, Francis still continued to fight. He was surrounded by enemies ; but he still dealt his blows with a vigour and effect which made him a most formidable enemy, even when he was almost the only one left. He is said to have killed six of his assailants here when his horse was shot, and he was thrown down. Although he had two wounds in his leg, and a cut on his forehead, which had bled so profusely as to weaken him considerably, he managed to release himself from his horse, and leaping to his feet renewed the combat. It was however impossible that such a contest could long endure. His enemies implored him to surrender, but he could not endure the thought of yielding to the common soldiers, who were then his only assailants. He would probably have

Francis
is made
prisoner.

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been cut down, but for the arrival of Pomperant, the adherent of Bourbon, and the companion of his flight. Seeing the king in a situation of so much peril, his old feelings of loyalty revived; he prevailed upon the soldiers to stand aside for a moment, and throwing himself at the king's feet, he besought him to continue no longer a resistance which was wholly in vain, and must end in his destruction. Francis listened to him; but on Pomperant's proposing that he should yield to Bourbon, (a) who was at hand, the king replied, "that he would die a thousand times rather than surrender to that hateful traitor." Pomperant then mentioned the viceroy of Naples; the king consented, and Lannoy being sent for, Francis gave him his sword, which the viceroy received on his knees, and,

(a) Lord Herbert, whose account is taken from Sandoval, says, "The first of the chief commanders that came in was the Marquis de Pescara; after him Guasto and others. At last Bourbon, armed cap-à-pie, and with his sword bloody in his hand, approached the king, who demanded his name. Being told, he stepped a little behind Pescara, who perceiving the king troubled, went to Bourbon and demanded his sword. The duke gave it, and running to the king, and lifting up his beaver, cast himself on his knees, and humbly demanded the royal hand to kiss. The king refused. Hereupon, Bourbon, with tears in his eyes, said, 'Sir! if you would have followed my counsel, you should not have needed to be in this estate; nor so much blood of the French nobility shed as stains the fields of Italy!' The king turning his eyes up to heaven, replied only, 'Patience! since fortune has failed me——.' Farther discourse was hindered by Pescara, who, desiring the king to mount on horseback, conducted him towards Pavia."—P. 166.

kissing Francis's hand, respectfully presented him with another weapon. (*a*)

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The king particularly desired that he might not be taken to Pavia, fearing that the threats he had vented against that city being remembered in his present humiliating condition, would expose him to ridicule and scorn, without which his sufferings were sufficiently bitter. Lannoy conducted him to his own tent, where his wounds were dressed, and whence he wrote to his mother that celebrated letter, the whole contents of which, as if he could not trust himself to express less laconically the humiliation and despair he felt, were—"Madame, all is lost—but honour." (*b*)

His de-
meanour
after the
battle.

In this battle, so fatal to Francis and his realm, fell the very flower of the French chivalry. The Bastard of Savoy, the grand master of France, was carried off the field alive; but he had been so miserably crushed and mangled in the press, that he died in dreadful agony at Pavia, soon after he arrived there. Lescun, who was so badly wounded that he believed he should not survive, rode about the field with a furious desire of meeting Bonnivet, to whose pernicious counsel he attributed the loss of the fight, and whom he vowed to kill if he could find him. He was soon exhausted by loss of

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. ii. Guicciardini, l. xv. MSS. Cotton. Vitell. B. vii. p. 80. Sandoval. Pet. Martyr. Angler. Lord Herbert's and Mr. Turner's Henry VIII.

(*b*) "Madame, tout est perdu—fors l'honneur."—Le P. Daniel.

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blood, and, falling from his horse, was carried to Pavia, to the house of the countess de Scarsafiore, who was tenderly attached to him, and who sought by the most assiduous care to save his life, but in vain. Bonnivet, who, when it was too late to repair them, became fully sensible of the evils which his advice had helped to bring about, had performed prodigies of valour. He had more than once turned the current of the fight by bringing up bodies of troops whom he had rallied, and being at last separated by the charge of Bourbon's lanz-knechts from the king's battle, which it was impossible for him to re-join, he might have saved his life with honour. But the grief he felt at the inevitable result of the fight was too poignant to be endured; he determined not to survive it, and rushing upon the lanz-knechts, met from them the death he courted. Bourbon, from whom he had more to fear than from the maréchal de Foix, had sought him throughout the field with a resolute eagerness, for the avowed purpose of revenging upon his person the wrongs he had suffered, and of which he believed the favourite had been the cause. When at length he found him, his enemy lay stretched upon the bloody ground, a mangled corse. A feeling of human pity rose in Bourbon's heart as he looked upon him, and turning away his head, he exclaimed, "Unhappy man, you have caused France's ruin and mine!"

Prisoners.

The number of prisoners taken was very great.

Henri d'Albret fell into the hands of Pescara, who refused to accept a ransom for him, and the king of Navarre, fearing that the emperor would scruple little at resorting to any means for extinguishing his pretensions to his frontier kingdom, determined to attempt his escape, which he fortunately effected. (a) The prince de Bozzolo had the same good fortune. The count de St. Pol, who had been left for dead upon the field, was restored to animation by a soldier's attempting to cut off his finger, for the purpose of possessing himself of a valuable ring. He induced this man, by the promise of a large reward, to carry him to Pavia; and being cured of his wounds, he returned to France with his deliverer. The maréchal de Montmorenci had the misfortune to be made a prisoner without sharing in the glory of the fight. He had been dispatched by the king to St. Lazaro, and hearing the firing,

(a) His escape was effected by means of his page, Vivés, who went into his prison one morning early to dress him. The king put on the page's clothes, and thus passed out unsuspected by the guard, while Vivés took his master's place in his bed, and for the purpose of giving time for his evasion, pretended to be asleep. When he was at length awoke in spite of himself, he said he was very ill, and continued to keep the curtains drawn close until the evening. The captain of the guard, who had by that time begun to entertain some suspicions, entered the room, and unceremoniously opened the bed curtains, when he recognised Vivés. His youth and his devotion to his master exempted him from punishment. The king found horses in waiting for him, and reached Piedmont in safety.—Du Bellay, l. ii. Varillas, t. i. p. 305.

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was returning in all haste, when he was intercepted by a detachment of the enemy, and captured. Brion and Montchenu, the king's personal friends, were taken in the *melée* beside him. Fleuranges, de Loyes, Guillaume du Bellay, la Roche du Maine, and many other illustrious leaders, were also made prisoners.

Francis
visited by
Bourbon
and Pes-
cara.

The demeanour of Francis in his captivity was so manly and becoming, as to command the respect of his enemies; and even the common soldiers were so struck with the valour he had displayed in the combat, that they were loud in their admiration of him, which they sometimes expressed by an unceremonious comparison of his frank and bold character with that of their more cautious emperor. (*a*) He underwent the trying scene of an interview with Bourbon, with great dignity. Bourbon had solicited permission to visit him, and Francis, thinking perhaps that his former subject had some cause of complaint, and feeling that in his present situation it would be vain and unbecoming to evince any resentment against a rebel who had become his conqueror, readily acceded to his wish. He received him with the

(*a*) One of the Spanish barquebussiers brought Francis a golden bullet, which, he said, he had made for the purpose of shooting him with, if he had had an opportunity, in the battle. He had also six silver ones, which he had prepared for six of the French leaders.—Varillas, t. i. The enthusiastic admiration of the soldiers induced Lannoy to give orders, under the pretext that they disturbed the king, that they should not be permitted to approach him.

ceremonious respect due to his rank, as a prince of the blood; but took care to prevent the conversation extending beyond the ordinary phrases of conventional civility. To Pomperant, who accompanied him, and to whom Francis believed he was indebted for his life, he addressed himself with a flattering cordiality. Pescara, too, as soon as his wounds were dressed, waited upon him and testified, by the modest and respectful manner in which he used the advantages of his victory, the sympathy he felt for the king's misfortunes. Francis, who was touched with the generosity of this proceeding, and who had, besides, a proper estimation for Pescara's courage and talents, treated him with great kindness. He seated him at table with him, praised him unaffectedly for the skill he had displayed in the recent encounter, and talked over the circumstances of it with an appearance of indifference which, although it must have been assumed, was well suited to the occasion. Pescara assured him, that the emperor would make none but a generous use of his advantage, and pledged his own influence to procure the king's liberation as soon, and upon as favourable terms, as might be possible. He dispatched messengers to Spain, with the news of the battle; and until the emperor's directions respecting his royal prisoner should be received, he assigned him, at his own request, the castle of Pizzighitone for his residence, whither Francis soon afterwards repaired under the guard of

CHAP. IX. Alarçon, who had succeeded Prospero Colonna in the command of the Spanish infantry.

The victory was, in all respects, a most decisive one. The only place beyond the Alps belonging to Francis was the castle of Milan, which Teodoro Trivulzio and Chandion held; when they heard of the defeat, they retreated into France, and once more the French power was extinct in Italy. The king was a prisoner; the most noble of his subjects were sharing his fate, or had encountered a more disastrous one; the gendarmerie was almost cut to pieces, and the black bands, the flower of the German infantry, were wholly destroyed; these were the melancholy fruits of the ill-advised Battle of Pavia.

END OF VOL. I.

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